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[For a functional interpretation of Andamanese mythology see category 116, pp. 330-400.]

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CHAPTER IV

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

773 THE Andamanese have a number of stories which are told to the younger people by their elders and relate to the doings of their ancestors in a time long ago. Some of these stories are recorded in the present chapter. A difficulty in the way of giving any clear and readable account of them is the fact that there are many slightly different versions of one and the same legend. To some extent the variations are local, each tribe, and even each portion of a tribe having its own set of legendary stories. Besides these local variations there are also individual variations. Two men of the same tribe may relate what is substantially the same story, yet each chooses his own words and gestures, and to some extent they may even arrange the incidents differently.

773 791 756 In the last chapter it was mentioned that there are certain individuals, known as *oko-jumu* in the North Andaman and *oko-paiad* in the South, who are believed to have special knowledge as to the spirits and as to the magical efficacy of remedies for sickness. It is these *oko-jumu* also who are the authorities on the legendary lore of the Andamanese. In the case of magical remedies there is a certain common stock of beliefs as to the efficacy to be attributed to different substances, such as leaves of different plants, and on the basis of these beliefs the *oko-jumu* elaborates the remedies that he uses in particular cases. Each *oko-jumu*, however, prides himself on being, to some extent, original. An example of this has been already mentioned. When a great storm arose an *oko-jumu* of one of the Northern tribes succeeded in stopping it (in the belief of

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the natives) by placing a piece of the crushed stem of the *Anadendron* creeper under a particular stone in the sea. On a later occasion another storm arose, and the successor of the first-mentioned *oko-jumu* was appealed to that he might exert his powers. He did not simply imitate his predecessor, but he placed a piece of crushed bark and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* in the sea under a different stone. In very much the same way there is a common stock of beliefs as to the events that took place in the time of the ancestors, but each *oko-jumu* builds up on this basis his own particular set of legends, so that it is rarely that two of them tell the same story in the same way. An *oko-jumu* may obtain for himself a reputation by relating legends of the ancestors in a vivid and amusing way. Such a man would be able to invent new stories by combining together in his own way some of the traditional incidents. The desire on the part of each *oko-jumu* to be original and so to enhance his own reputation is a fertile source of variation in the legends.

This lack of traditional form, which is a very important characteristic of the Andamanese mythology, may be compared with their lack of traditional songs. Just as every man composes his own songs, so, within certain limits, every *oko-jumu* relates in his own way the legends of his tribe. But whereas every man is a composer of songs, only a certain number are regarded as having authority to speak on the legends.

Underlying the legends of any tribe there are a certain number of beliefs or representations with which every native is familiar. It is on the basis of these that the *oko-jumu* elaborates his own doctrine, if we may call it so, which he hands on to his followers, who in turn may become *oko-jumu* and produce further slight modifications of their own. Thus the legends are continually being changed, though in any one generation the changes introduced are slight, and it would take a long time for important changes in belief to be brought about. There is evidence, however, that a succession of leading men in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe have succeeded in introducing a new doctrine as to the weather, making *Bilik* the name of a class of beings instead of the name of a single being, and that this

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• 773 doctrine, while it has not entirely ousted the former beliefs, has yet succeeded in gaining currency not only in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but also in the *Aka-Kǫl* and *Ǫkǫ-J̌uwǫi* tribes.

At the present time it is only possible to recover a small part of the many different legends with their variants. The introduction of many new interests into the lives of the natives, through the European settlement and the many changes it has produced, has caused the ancient legends to be neglected. Most of the old *oko-jumu* have died without leaving any followers to take their place. Many of the legends recorded here are merely what some of the men not specially skilled in legendary lore can remember of the stories told them in former days by *oko-jumu* who are now dead.

One feature of the legends that must be pointed out is their unsystematic nature. The same informant may give, on different occasions, two entirely different versions of such a thing as the origin of fire, or the beginning of the human race. The Andamanese, to all appearance, regard each little story as independent, and do not consciously compare one with another. They thus seem to be entirely unconscious of what are obvious contradictions to the student of the legends. It is necessary to emphasise the fragmentary and unsystematic nature of the Andaman mythology because Mr Man, in his work on the Andamanese, has brought together a number of legends from the tribes of the South Andaman and has combined them into a continuous and fairly consistent narrative, and has thus, undoubtedly not intentionally, given a wrong impression to the reader of what the nature of the disconnected stories really is. While each of the stories included in Mr Man's account is derived directly from the natives, it would seem certain that the arrangement of them into a more or less consistent narrative is due to Mr Man.

In recording the legends in this chapter, only the English translation is given. In some cases the legends were translated on the spot and written down in English. In other cases they were written down in the native language and then translated. When I was recording the legends I very frequently had to ask what was meant by a particular statement, the meaning of

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which might be quite clear to a native, but which was obscure to one not accustomed to thinking in the same way as the natives. In some cases I could obtain no satisfactory explanation, and such legends are given in this chapter in as nearly as possible an exact literal translation of the original. In other cases the explanations given by the natives have been incorporated in the translation itself.

In order to give the reader a fair idea of the nature of the legends as they are told, one is here given in the native language (*Aka-Cari*) with a word-for-word translation.

A Maia Dik iǰokoduko; *o koṇmo teč inǰuktertoia;*
Sir Prawn makes fire; yam leaf catches fire;

koṇmo teč bi ikterbie; *kete uiǰoko;* *uiǰokobiko;*
yam leaf is dry; that one it burns; he makes a fire;

Maia Dik ubenoba; *Maia Totemo emato;* *uǰokil uektebalo;*
Sir Prawn slept; Sir Kingfisher takes; he fire with he runs away

Maia Totemo ǰokobiko; *Maia Totemo taǰeo ubiko;*
Sir Kingfisher makes a fire; Sir Kingfisher fish (food) cooks;

upetil ubeno; *Maia Mite ǰuktebalo uemato.*
his belly in he sleeps; Sir Dove runs away taking.

The above translation is hardly comprehensible without a little explanation. The word *ijoko* means "something burns," the word *ubiko* means "he cooks (by roasting)." The compound *ijokobiko* may mean either "he makes a fire and cooks something at it" or it may simply mean "he makes up a fire (by adding firewood)." The word *iǰokoduko* has a quite different meaning, "to produce fire." The derivation of *inǰuktertoia* is uncertain, as I am not sure of the proper use of *er-toia*; it is translated on the basis of the explanation given me by the man who told the story. The word *ikterbie* is descriptive of the dryness of dead leaves.

A free translation would be as follows: "It was Sir Prawn who first produced or obtained fire. Some yam leaves, being shrivelled and dry by reason of the hot weather, caught fire and burnt. The prawn made a fire with some firewood and

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539 713 went to sleep. The kingfisher stole fire and ran away with it. He made a fire and cooked some fish. When he had filled his belly he went to sleep. The dove stole fire from the kingfisher and ran away." It is implied that it was the dove who gave the fire to the ancestors of the Andamanese.

773 Versions of legends of the origin of fire are given by Mr Portman, in each of the languages of the Southern group of tribes[1].

All the legends relate to events that are supposed to have happened in the past, and deal with the doings of the ancestors of the Andamanese. In the North Andaman the ancestors are sometimes called *Lau t'er-kuro*, i.e. the big spirits, "big" being used in the sense of our word "chief." Another term for them is *N'a-mai-koloko*, from *n'* or *nio* = they, *aka-mai* = father, and *koloko* = people, so that the phrase literally means "the father people," or the ancestors. In the South Andaman the ancestors are sometimes called *Čauga tabaŋa*, which is the equivalent of *Lau t'er-kuro*. Mr Man seems to have misunderstood the exact meaning of this term. He writes: "*Lači Lora-lola*, the chief of the survivors from the Deluge[2], gave, at his death, the name of *Čauga tabaŋa* to their descendants.....The *Čauga tabaŋa* are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long lived, but, in other respects and in their mode of living they did not differ from the present inhabitants. The name seems to have been borne till comparatively recent times, as a few still living are said to remember having seen the last of the so-called *Čauga tabaŋa*[3]."

Mr Man has evidently not realised that the term *čauga* cannot be applied to any living Andamanese, but may be applied to every dead one. The *Čauga* are the spirits of dead natives, and new *Čauga* are continually coming into existence by death. Any person who is of such importance when alive as to form the subject of legends or stories after his death may be distinguished (after his death only) as a *Čauga tabaŋa*. The name may thus be applied to the purely mythical ancestors of the legends, and also to the spirits of men recently dead

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 97.
[2] The legend will be given later.
[3] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.

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whose memory is preserved owing to fame acquired in some way when they were alive. It is thus possible that some of the natives with whom Mr Man formerly conversed are now *Čauga tabaya*, i.e. big spirits, having been "big men" when they were alive.

Another name sometimes used in the South Andaman to denote the ancestors is *Tomo-la*[1]. This word, however, is sometimes used in the singular to denote the mythical first man. Its use is thus similar to that of the name *Bilik* in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, which is used both as the name of a single mythical being and also as the name of a class of beings. Only the early ancestors of the Andamanese, i.e. those about whom the legends are related, can be called *Tomo-la*.

Among the ancestors who appear in the legends there are a few who bear names that are used as personal names of men and women at the present time, and who appear in the legends simply as men and women. The larger number of the ancestors, however, bear names that are those of species of animals. In each case the ancestor is identified with the species which bears the same name. Yet others of the mythical ancestors have names that are neither personal names at the present day, nor names of animals. It may perhaps be supposed that in all such cases the name has some sort of meaning, but in many instances it was not found possible to discover the meaning with certainty.

When speaking of the ancestors, the natives generally add to the name the appropriate title. These titles are, in the North Andaman *Maia* (Sir) and *Mimi* (Lady), in Akar-Bale *Da* (Sir) and *In* (Lady), and in Aka-Bea *Maia* and *Čana*.

There are legends as to the origin of mankind, i.e., of their own race, for they did not recognize, until recently, the existence of any men of other races than their own, calling aliens *Lau* (spirits). There is, however, no unanimity in their beliefs as to how mankind originated, even in any one tribe. An *Aka-Bo* legend is as follows:

[1] The suffix *-la* is added to personal names and to terms of address in order to express respect.

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"The first man was *J̌utpu*[1]. He was born inside the joint of a big bamboo, just like a bird in an egg[2]. The bamboo split and he came out. He was a little child. When it rained he made a small hut for himself and lived in it. He made little bows and arrows. As he grew bigger he made bigger huts, and bigger bows and arrows. One day he found a lump of quartz and with it he scarified himself. *J̌utpu* was lonely, living all by himself. He took some clay (*kọt*) from a nest of the white ants and moulded it into the shape of a woman. She became alive and became his wife. She was called *Kọt*. They lived together at *Teraut-buliu*. Afterwards *J̌utpu* made other people out of clay. These were the ancestors. *J̌utpu* taught them how to make canoes and bows and arrows, and how to hunt and fish. His wife taught the women how to make baskets and nets and mats and belts, and how to use clay for making patterns on the body."

The same story was told me by *Aka-J̌eru* men, the only difference being that they gave the name of the place where *J̌utpu* lived differently, mentioning a spot in the *Aka-J̌eru* country.

From the *Aka-J̌eru* I also obtained what is really another version of the same legend, though the name of the first ancestor is given differently. "The first man came out of the buttress of a *pọičo* (*Sterculia*) tree, and was called *Pọičotobut* (*Sterculia* buttress). He had no wife, so he cohabited with an ant's nest (*kọt*) and thus obtained a large number of children. These were the first Andamanese, and *Pọičotobut* taught them all their arts and customs. *Pọičotobut* lived at *Bọrọŋ Buliu* (in *Aka-J̌eru* country)."

The association between the origin of the Andamanese and an ant's nest (*kọt*) is retained in another legend, told by an *Aka-J̌eru* man. "*Tarai* (the south-west monsoon) was the first man. His wife was *Kọt*. They lived at *Tarai-era-*

[1] The name seems to mean "alone."

[2] The giant bamboo does not grow in the Andamans, but pieces of it are often drifted ashore, having come from the coast of Burma. The natives pick up these drift-wood bamboos and make buckets of them. It is possible that the bamboo from which the first man was born was just such a piece drifted up from the sea. Unfortunately I neglected to enquire on this point when taking down the legend.

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poŋ[1]. Their children were *Tau* (the sky), *Bọto* (wind), *Piribi* (storm), and *Air* (the foam on a rough sea)."

An entirely different legend, of which, however, I could not obtain a detailed version, is also found in the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe. This is to the effect that the first living being was *Maia Ćara*[2]. He made the earth, and caused it to be peopled with inhabitants. He also made the sun and moon. In the last chapter *Ćara* was mentioned as a mythical being associated with the sun, with daylight and with fine weather. One of my informants of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe said that *Ćara* had a wife named *Nimi* (a common personal name), and that his children were *Ćeo* (knife), *Ino* (water), *Loto*, and *Luk*. It is *Maia Ćara*, according to one commonly received account, who makes the daylight every day.

I could not obtain any *Aka-Kede* legend as to the origin of mankind. One informant of that tribe said that it was *Bilika* (the north-east monsoon) who made the world and the first men and women, but he could give me no detailed legend.

In the *Aka-Kọl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes there are several versions of a legend that makes the monitor lizard (*Varanus salvator*) the progenitor of the Andaman race. In all the versions there is no mention of how the lizard himself originated. The following was told me by an *Aka-Kọl* man. "When *Ta Pẹti* (Sir Monitor Lizard) was *aka-gọi* (i.e. unmarried, but having completed the initiation ceremonies), he went into the jungle to hunt pig. He climbed up a *Dipterocarpus* tree, and got stuck there[3]. *Beyan* (civet-cat, *Paradoxurus*) found him there, stuck in the tree. She released him and helped him to get down. The two got married. Their children were the *Tomo-la* (i.e. the ancestors)."

Another legend telling how the monitor lizard obtained a wife was related to me on more than one occasion by *A-Pučikwar* men. "The first of the ancestors (*Tomo-la*) was *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard). He lived at *Tomo-la-tog*. At first he had

[1] The meaning of the name is "the cave of *Tarai*"; I believe that this is the name of a spot in the *Aka-Jeru* country.

[2] The meaning of the name was not discovered.

[3] The lizard was caught in some way by his genital organs, but I was unable to understand the story completely.

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no wife. One day, when he was out fishing, he found a piece of black wood of the kind called *kọlotat* (*Diospyros* sp.). He found it in the creek, and brought it to his hut, where he put it on the little platform over the fire[1]. He sat down by the fire and set to work over an arrow that he was making. As he bent over his work he did not see what was happening. By and by he heard some one laugh, and looked up. Then he saw that the piece of wood had turned into a woman. He got up and took her down from the platform. She sat down with him and became his wife. They had a son named *Pọi* (a species of small bird, possibly a woodpecker), and afterwards many other children. They lived together for a long time at *Tomo-la-tog*. One day *Ta Pẹtie* went fishing and was drowned in the creek. He turned into a *kara-duku*."

There is some doubt about the translation of the word *kara-duku*. It is an *Aka-Bea* word, although it was used as given above, by an *A-Pučikwar* man. Mr Man translates it "cachalot." Mr Portman says that *kara-duku* is "crocodile," but that the cachalot, the proper name of which is *biriga-ta*, is also sometimes called *kara-duku*[2]. The only authority for the existence of crocodiles in the Andamans is the statement of Mr Portman, who says that the natives killed one in the Middle Andaman and brought the bones to him. Although I was in many of the creeks of the Andamans at different times I never saw a crocodile, and none of the other officers of the Settlement, who have repeatedly explored a large part of the islands, ever seems to have seen one, so that the one recorded by Mr Portman may possibly have been a single one that had come oversea from the mainland of Asia.

Another *A-Pučikwar* account of the origin of the first woman *Kọlotat*, is as follows: "At first there were no women, only men. A man called *Kọlotat* came to live in the *A-Pučikwar* country. *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard) caught him and cut off his genitals and made him into a woman. She became his wife. Their children were the first of the ancestors (*Tomo-la*)."

[1] This is the small platform of sticks placed near or above the fire, on which the natives keep their food, and on which they often place objects that they desire to dry.

[2] *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 227.

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Another account given by members of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe is that the first man was *Tomo*, or *Tomo-la*. One version that I heard is that *Tomo* made the world and peopled it with the ancestors. He made the moon (*Puki*) who is his wife. *Tomo* and his wife invented all the arts of the Andamanese and taught them to the ancestors. After his death *Tomo* went to live in the sky, where he now is. It is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, while *Bilik* sends the bad weather. In the world where *Tomo* now lives it is always daylight and is always fine. When men die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. The man who gave me this version said that he did not know how *Tomo* originated, but was quite sure that he was not made by *Bilik*. *Tomo* came first and *Bilik* came afterwards. The Andamanese are all the children of *Tomo*[1].

In disagreement with this story, another man of the same tribe said that *Tomo* was made by *Bilik*. He (i.e., *Tomo*) had a wife *Mita* (Dove), and they were the ancestors of the Andamanese. Yet another informant said: "*Ta Tomo* was the first man. He made bows and arrows and canoes. His canoes were made of the wood of the Pandanus tree. *Mita* (Dove) was his wife. It was she who first made nets and baskets and discovered the uses of red paint and white clay." When I asked how *Tomo* and his wife originated my informant replied that he did not know.

A species of bird (perhaps a woodpecker), called *Pǫi* in *A-Pučikwar* and *Kǫio* in *Aka-Kǫl*, is often said to have been the son of *Tomo*. I was once told that *Kǫio* was the first of the Andamanese, from whom they are all descended, and that his wife was *Mita*. Another informant said that *Pǫtie* (Monitor Lizard) was the first man and *Mita* was his wife, while still another stated that *Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) was the progenitor of the race, making the dove male instead of female. These different versions will give some idea of the

[1] When an old man of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe was giving me the information repeated above, an Andamanese man was with us who had been brought up as a Christian and had some knowledge of the doctrines of that faith. He explained to me that *Tomo* is the equivalent of the Christian God. This man belonged to the *Akar-Bale* tribe.

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contradictory nature of the statements of the Andamanese. All of them come from only two tribes, the *A-Pučikwar* and the *Aka-Kol.*

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained the following legend. "*Puluga* made the first of the ancestors. He made one man and one woman called *Nyali* and *Irap*[1]. He gave them fire, and taught them how to hunt and fish, and how to make bows and arrows and baskets and nets. The place where they lived is called *Irap* because they lived there[2]."

Another *Akar-Bale* version is that the first man was *Da Duku* (Sir Monitor Lizard), and that his wife was *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat).

Mr E. H. Man, in his account of the South Andaman, says that there are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the creation and origin of the human species, but in the main features all the natives with whom he spoke are agreed. The world was created by *Puluga*, who then made a man named *Tomo*, the first of the human race. *Tomo* was black, like the present Andamanese, but was much taller and bearded. *Puluga* showed him the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *Wota-emi*, a spot in the country of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. The wife of *Tomo* was *Čana Elewadi* (Lady Crab), and as to her origin there are different legends. According to some, *Puluga* created her after he had taught *Tomo* how to sustain life; others say that *Tomo* saw her swimming near his home and called to her, whereupon she landed and lived with him; while a third story represents her as coming pregnant to Kyd Island, where she gave birth to several male and female children, who subsequently became the progenitors of the present race. *Tomo* had two sons and two daughters by *Čana Elewadi*; the names of the former were *Biro-la* and *Boro-la*, and of the latter *Rie-la* and *Čormi-la.*

A story that tells how *Tomo* came to his end states that

[1] These names are common personal names among the aborigines of the present day. Mr Portman derives *Nyali* from *nam-da*, the name of a tree, and *Irap* from *pira-da* meaning "scattered," but these derivations are far from being authenticated. (Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 70.)

[2] The place called *Irap* is at the north end of Havelock Island.

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one day, while hunting, he fell into the creek called *Yara-tig-jig* and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a *kara-duku* (which Mr Man translates as "cachalot"). *Čana Elewadi*, ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband, went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to ascertain the cause of his continued absence; on seeing them, *Kara-duku* upset their skiff and drowned his wife and most of her companions. She became a small crab, of a description still named after her, *elewadi*, and the others were transformed into lizards (*duku*). Another version of this story is that, wearied with an unsuccessful day's hunting, *Tomo* went to the shore, where he found a *čidi* (Pinna) shell-fish; while playing with it, it fastened on him, and he was unable to free himself until a *baian* (Paradoxurus) seized the *čidi* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after this he saw his wife and some of their children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune that had befallen him he upset the canoe, drowning its occupants and himself. He then became *kara-duku*, and the others *duku*, which are now plentiful in the jungles[1].

In some of the preceding legends reference is made to *Biliku* or *Puluga*. There is a very general belief, in all parts of the islands, that in the time of the ancestors, *Biliku* or *Puluga* lived on earth. Each tribe has at least one spot in its territory that is pointed out as the place where *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) lived. In some tribes there are three or four such places, each of which is claimed as the original home of *Biliku* by the people living in the neighbourhood. In many cases the name of the spot contains a reference to the legend, as *Puluga ṭod-baraiǰ* (the village of *Puluga*) in *Akar-Bale* or *Biliku era-poŋ* (the cave of *Biliku*) in the North Andaman.

I was able to obtain a few legends relating to the time when *Biliku* lived on earth, though there were probably many more that I was not fortunate enough to hear.

The following is an *Aka-Jeru* legend:

"In the time of the ancestors *Biliku* lived at *Ar-kọl*. One day the people caught a turtle and brought it to the camp.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 164.

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Biliku was sitting there. They asked her if she would eat some of it. She said 'No.' They put the meat in the roof of the hut and went away. When they had gone *Biliku* ate the whole turtle. Then she went to sleep. The people came back and found the turtle gone. They said '*Biliku* has eaten it.' They left the camp and all went to *Tebi-čiro*. They left *Biliku* asleep. Some of the people went to hunt for turtle. Their canoe passed near *Ar-kọl*. *Biliku* saw the people in the canoe. She called to them and asked to be taken with them. The people refused saying 'You ate up all the turtle.' *Biliku* had a round stone and several *be* shells (pearl shells). She threw the shells at the people in the canoe. The first shell did not hit them but came back and fell at her feet; and so also with the second. Then *Biliku* got very angry and threw a third time. The shell struck the canoe and killed all the people in it. The canoe and its occupants became a reef of rocks that is still there. The other people at *Tebi-čiro* called across to *Biliku* saying 'Come over here.' She answered 'Very well! I am coming.' She took the stone that she had and put it in the sea, and it floated. She got on to it to cross over. When she had got half way across *Biliku* and her stone sank in the sea. They became two big rocks that are there still." This legend refers to the west coast of the North Andaman. The pearl shells that *Biliku* throws seem to be lightning, and the round stone the one that she rolls about to make thunder.

A few other statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* from the four tribes of the North Andaman are given below just as they were taken down in my note-books.

(1) "*Biliku* lived at *Pura-'ra-poy* in the time of the ancestors. Her husband was *Perjido* and her children *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*. She made the sun and the moon. It was she who first invented all the things that are now made and used by women, such as baskets, nets, etc., and it was she who discovered fire, and who first discovered the use of edible roots such as *kọnmo* and *mino* (two species of *Dioscorea*)."

(2) "*Biliku* used to live at *Čaura*. She had a husband

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Tarai and a son *Pɐrǰido*, and a daughter *Mite*. She used to live only on certain vegetable foods, *lɑito*, *pata*, *bui*, *čo*, *kɑnmo* and *mino* and others. It was *Biliku* who made the earth (the forest, *ti-miku*). She began at *Čaura*."

(3) "*Biliku* lived at *Ar-Kol* in the time of the ancestors. Her husband was *Tarai* and their children were the birds, *Tɑrɑi*, *Taka*, *Čotɑt*, *Poruatoko*, *Kelil*, *Mite*, *Čopčura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kɑlo*, and *Teo*." (*Aka-J̌eru*.)

(4) "*Biliku* lived at *Poroket*. She was unmarried. She had a son *Pɐrǰido*, and her other children were *Tɑrɑi*, *Čelene*, *Čotɑt* and *Čerei*. (These four are the names of birds.) It was *Pɐrǰido* who invented all the arts of the Andamanese such as their bows and arrows, etc." (*Aka-Bo*?.)

(5) "*Biliku* used to live at *Peč-meo* with her husband *Tɑrɑi* (a bird). She used to eat *lɑito*, and when anyone else ate that root she was angry. *Tarai* lived at *Čaroɲa* with his wife *Kelil* (a bird). He ate only *mikulu*." (*Aka-Kɑra*.)

(6) "*Tarai* has very long legs and a short body. He used to live on a small island beyond Interview Island, which is now submerged. When *Tarai* goes to sleep he breathes very heavily and this makes the wind."

The next is an *Aka-Kede* legend. "In the days of the ancestors *Bilika* lived at *Purum-at-čape* in the *Aka-Kede* country, with her husband *Pɑrɑkul*. One day *Pɑrɑkul* was out hunting. He returned with a pig that he had killed and came to the creek on the other side of which was his home (*Cɑti-tɐr-buli Buliu*). Laden as he was with the pig he could not swim across the creek. *Bilika* was sleeping, but her children were playing near and saw their father on the other side of the creek. They ran and told their mother that their father was coming but could not cross the creek. *Biliǩa* went and lay down on one bank of the creek and stretched out her leg so that it reached the other bank. *Pɑrɑkul* walked across her leg and so reached home."

While it is clear from this legend that *Bilika* was of superhuman size, the same was also true of her husband, if we may judge from another legend. "*Pɑrɑkul* made for himself a bow (of the large southern pattern), with which to shoot pig. At

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this time the sky was low down near the earth, only just above the tops of the trees. When *Pǫrǫkul* had finished his bow he lifted it upright. The top of it struck the sky and lifted it up to its present position where it has remained ever since."

In another legend from another part of the *Aka-Kede* tribe *Bilika* is spoken of as being male. "*Bilika* lived at *Pǫrǫŋ-et-čo* with his wife *Mite*. They had a child. The ancestors ate *Bilika's* food, *lǫito* and *kata* and other plants. *Bilika* was very angry. He used to smell their mouths to see if they had eaten his food. When he found a man or woman who had done so he would cut his throat. The ancestors were very angry with *Bilika*, because he killed the men and women when they ate his foods. They all came together and killed *Bilika* and his wife *Mite*. *Maia Burto* (a species of fish) took the child (of *Bilika*) away to the north-east."

Owing to my lack of knowledge of the *Aka-Kede* language there are some points of the above legend that remain obscure. I think that the child of *Bilika* is also named *Bilika*, and that it is he (or she) who now lives in the north-east and sends the storms. The plants (*lǫito*, *kata*, etc.), called here the "food" of *Bilika*, are those mentioned in the last chapter as specially belonging to *Bilika*, who is angry when the natives eat them. As regards the name, *Mite*, of *Bilika's* wife, I do not know whether this is the name of the bronze-winged dove, or of the cicada. In some of the Andamanese languages the names of these two are very similar, the only difference being a very slight one in the way of pronouncing the two vowels.

The *A-Pučikwar* people who live on the east coast of Baratang Island say that in the beginning the ancestors lived at a place called *Wota-emi*, and *Bilik* lived opposite to them across the strait at a place called *Tǫi-l'oko-tima*. In a rock at *Wota-emi* there is a large peculiarly shaped hollow. This is said to be where *Bilik* used to sit when he was on earth.

An *Akar-Bale* legend is as follows. "In the days of the ancestors *Puluga* lived at *Jila* off the east coast of Henry Lawrence Island and the ancestors lived at *Puluga l'od-baraij* (the village of *Puluga*) on the main island just opposite to *Jila*. *Puluga* was always getting angry with the ancestors,

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because they dug up yams and ate *čakan* (*Entada scandens*) and *barata* (*Caryota sobolifera*). When he was angry he used to destroy their huts and property. So the people sent him out of the world, saying 'We do not want you here. You are always angry with us.' *Puluga* went away to the north-east."

It is worth while to note that *J̌ila* is north-east from *Puluga l'od-baraij*, just as *Tọl-l'oko-tima* is north-east from *Wota-emi*. In both cases there is a narrow strait between the place where the ancestors lived and the home of *Puluga* or *Bilik*.

There are a number of different legends that relate how the ancestors first obtained fire[1]. In many of these legends there is a reference to *Biliku* or *Puluga*. A common statement in the North Andaman is that "Fire was stolen from *Biliku* by *Maia Tiritmo* (Sir Kingfisher)." Some of the legends give further details. An *Aka-Čari* legend is as follows:

"*Biliku* had a red stone and a pearl shell (*be*). She struck them together and obtained fire. She collected firewood and made a fire. She went to sleep. *Mite* (the bronze-winged dove) came and stole fire. He made a fire for himself. He gave fire to all the people in the village. Afterwards fire was given to all the places. Each village had its own."

The next is an *Aka-J̌eru* version.

"In the days of the ancestors they had no fire. *Biliku* had fire. While *Biliku* slept *Maia Lirčitmo* (Sir Kingfisher) came and stole fire. As he was taking the fire *Biliku* awoke and saw him. *Lirčitmo* swallowed the fire. *Biliku* took a pearl shell (*be*) and threw it at *Lirčitmo* and cut off his head. The fire came out (of his neck). The ancestors got the fire. *Lirčitmo* became a bird."

The next is also, I believe, an *Aka-J̌eru* story. "*Maia Tiritmo* (Sir Kingfisher) lived at *Tolepar Buruin*. He had no fire. When he caught fish he had no fire with which to cook it. He went to the place where *Čọkčura* (heron) lived. There was no fire there. *Tiritmo* took some rotten wood of the *piń*

[1] Until the settlement of Europeans on the islands the Andamanese had no knowledge of any means of producing fire. It is necessary to remember this to understand some of their legends which relate how in the time of the ancestors the fire was very nearly lost in a heavy storm.

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tree and hit it on a rock, and thus made fire. He gave fire to *Čǫkčura*. *Čǫkčura* gave fire to *Totemo* (a species of kingfisher). *Totemo* gave it to all the others.

A slightly different and less detailed version of the same story is as follows:

"*Tiritmo* made fire. *Totemo* stole fire (from *Tiritmo*) and gave it to *Mǫičo* (Rail). *Mǫičo* gave fire to all the people."

The next version, which was taken down in *Aka-J̌eru*, I did not fully understand.

"Some one shot an arrow. The arrow hit the hill of fire. *Tiriń* (a species of kingfisher) found the arrow. It was on fire. He took the fire to his camp. He would not give fire to any one. The others asked him. They went to their homes. At night they came to *Tiriń's* hut and stole fire. They went away, each to his own place."

There is a certain amount of obscurity about two other versions, which are given in a translation as nearly literal as possible. "*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) made fire. Some *kǫnmo* (yam) leaves caught fire, being dry. *Maia Dik* made a fire. *Maia Dik* slept. *Maia Totemo* (Sir Kingfisher) stole fire and ran away. *Maia Totemo* made a fire. He cooked fish. When he had eaten, he slept. *Maia Mite* (Sir Dove) stole fire (from *Totemo*) and ran away.

The other is as follows. "*Piribi* got fire from a stone. He threw fire at *Bilika*. It set some *kǫnmo* (yam) leaves on fire. *Čǫrolo* (Parrot) got fire (from the burning leaves). He gave it to the ancestors."

These two legends were taken down in *Aka-Čari*, but they are perhaps really *Aka-Kǫra* or *Aka-J̌eru* stories. I have the word *piribi* in my notes as meaning a storm, but the translation is doubtful.

The next is an *Aka-Kede* version of what is the most widespread of the legends.

"The ancestors had no fire. *Bilika* had fire. The ancestors tried to steal fire from *Bilika*. *Lirtit* (Kingfisher) went one night while *Bilika* was sleeping and stole fire. *Bilika* awoke and saw him going away with the fire. She threw a pearl shell (*ba*) at him, which cut off his wings and his tail. *Lirtit* dived

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into the water and swam with the fire to *Bet-'ra-kudu* and gave it to *Tẹpe*. *Tẹpe* gave fire to *Mite* (the bronze-winged dove). *Mite* gave it to the others[1]."

An *Aka-Kede* legend of the origin of the sun may conveniently be given in this place, as it is connected with the possession of fire by *Bilika*. "*Bilika* made fire of *purum* wood. One day, when she was very angry, she started throwing fire about. One large fire-brand she threw into the sky, and there t became the sun." This legend explains the name of the place *Purum-at-čape*, at which *Bilika* is said to have lived when on earth. *Purum* is the name of a tree, not identified; *at* means either "fire" or "fire-wood," and *čape* means a village or a hut. The whole word therefore means "*Purum* fire village."

I did not obtain any legend of the origin of fire from the *Okọ-Juwọi* and *Aka-Kọl* tribes, but a version from each of these tribes has been given by Mr Portman. A translation of Mr Portman's *Okọ-Juwọi* story is as follows[2]. "*Mọm Mirit*[3] stole a fire-brand from *Kuro-ťon-mika* while *Bilik* was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late *Leč*, who then made fire at *Karat-tatak-emi*."

Mr Portman's *Aka-Kọl* story is somewhat obscure. "*Bilik* was sleeping at *Tọl-ťoko-tima*. *Luratut* (Kingfisher) took away fire to *Oko-emi*. *Kọlotat* went to *Min-tọŋ-ta* (taking with him fire from *Oko-emi*). At *Min-tọŋ-ta* the fire went out. *Kọlotat* broke up the charred firewood and made fire again (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors (*Jaŋil*) thus got fire at *Min-tọŋ-ta* village."

From the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I only obtained one version of the fire legend. "When the ancestors lived at *Wota-emi*, *Bilik* lived at *Tọl-ťoko-tima* across the strait. In those days the ancestors had no fire. *Bilik* took some wood of the tree called *pẹrat* and broke it and made fire for himself. *Luratut* (Kingfisher) came to *Tọl-ťoko-tima* while *Bilik* was sleeping and stole some fire. *Bilik* awoke and saw *Luratut*. He (*Bilik*) took

[1] I understood that *Lirtit*, by the loss of his wings and tail, became a man.
[2] Portman, *loc. cit.*
[3] *Mom* is a title indicating respect, and *Mirit* is the imperial pigeon.

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up a lighted brand and threw it at *Luratut*. It hit him in the back of the neck and burnt him. *Luratut* gave the fire to the people at *Wota-emi*. *Bilik* was very angry about this and went away to live in the sky."

The kingfisher of the story (*Alcedo beavani?*) has a patch of bright red feathers on its neck. This is where it was burnt by the brand thrown by *Bilik*.

Mr Portman gives a slightly different version from the same tribe[1]. "*Bilik* was sleeping at *Tọl-l'oko-tima*. *Luratut* went to bring fire. He caught hold of the fire, and in doing so burnt *Bilik*. *Bilik* awoke and seized some fire. He hit *Luratut* with the fire. Then he hit *Tarčal* (a fish) with the fire. *Čalter* (another species of kingfisher) caught hold of the fire. He gave it to the ancestors at *Wota-emi*. The ancestors made fires."

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained the following legend: "The people had no fire. *Dim-dọri* (a fish) went and fetched fire from *Jereg-l'ar-mugu* (the place of departed spirits). He came back and threw the fire at the people and burnt them, and marked them all. The people ran into the sea and became fishes. *Dim-dọri* went to shoot them with his bow and arrows, and he also became a fish." This story is supposed to account for the bright colouring of certain species of fish.

Mr Portman gives a somewhat similar version from the same tribe[2]. *Dim-dọra* (a fish), a very long time ago, at *Keri-l'oy-tower*, was bringing fire from *Puluga's* platform (fireplace). He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. *Bolub* and *Tarkọr* and *Biličau* fell into the sea and became fishes. They took the fire to *Rokwa-l'ar-toya* village and made fires there."

Another *Akar-Bale* legend is that fire was given to the first ancestors (*Da Duku* and *In Bain*) by *Puluga*. Still another is that fire was obtained by the ancestors from *Aga*, the skink (*Mabuia tytleri*). The mist that is often seen hanging over the jungle in small patches, after rain or at dawn, is said to be the smoke of *Aga's* fire. An island in the Archipelago is called *Aga l'od-baraij*, *Aga's* village.

[1] Portman, *loc. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

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Mr Portman gives an *Aka-Bea* legend, which, however, relates that the events took place at *Wota-emi* in the *A-Pučikwar* country[1].

"*Puluga* was asleep at *Tọl-l'oko-tima*. *Luratut* came, stealing fire. The fire burnt *Puluga*. *Puluga* awoke. *Puluga* seized some fire. Taking the fire he burnt *Luratut* with it. *Luratut* took the fire. He burnt *Tar-čeker* (another kind of kingfisher) with it in *Wota-emi* village. The ancestors lit fires. They (the ancestors) were the *Tomo-la*."

Mr Man gives three different versions of legends as to the origin of fire. According to the first of these, *Puluga*, after he had made the first man, *Tomo*, gave him fire and taught him its use. *Puluga* obtained fire by stacking in alternate layers two kinds of wood known as *cọr* and *ber*, and then bidding the sun to come and sit on or near the pile until she ignited it, after which she returned to her place in the sky[2]. The second version is that *Puluga* came to *Tomo* with a spirit named *Lači Puŋa Ablola* to instruct *Tomo*, who at his direction, prepared a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled and *Puŋa Ablola* proceeded to teach him how to cook food[3]. This legend contains an obvious contradiction. *Lači Puŋa Ablola*, as is shown by the name itself (*Lači* = the late), is the name of some one who is supposed to have lived and died and so become a spirit. Yet at the same time *Tomo* is supposed to have been the first of the Andamanese. There is the possibility, however, that this inconsistency is due not to the natives themselves, but to Mr Man's transcription. It is possible that the legend is that fire was discovered and was given to the ancestors (the *Tomo*) by a person who, being dead, is now *Lači Puŋa Ablola*, but who was then alive and one of the ancestors (*Tomo*) themselves.

A third legend about fire given by Mr Man is associated by him with another legend about a flood that once overwhelmed the ancestors. According to Mr Man's version the fires were all extinguished by the flood, so that the few survivors were left without fire. "At this juncture one of their recently deceased

[1] Portman, *loc. cit.* [2] Man, *op. cit.* p. 164. [3] *Ibid.*

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friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *Luratut*. Seeing their distress he flew up to *Mɵrɵ*, the sky, where he discovered *Puluga* seated beside his fire; he thereupon seized and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the heat, or weight, or both, rendered the task impossible, and the blazing brand fell on *Puluga*, who, incensed with pain, hurled it at the intruder; happily for those concerned, the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the survivors were deploring their condition. As *Luratut* alighted in their midst at the same moment, he gained the full credit for having removed the chief cause of their distress[1]."

We may now consider a group of legends that relate how a great catastrophe overwhelmed the ancestors. In many of the versions the legend relates how the ancestors were transformed into animals. Some of the legends are connected with *Biliku* or *Puluga* and others are connected with the first discovery of fire. Beginning with the North Andaman, the following is, I believe, an *Aka-Jeru* version. "*Mimi Čara* once broke some firewood in the evening (while the cicada was singing). A great storm came and killed many people, who were turned into fishes and birds. The water rose up till it covered the trees. *Mimi Čara* and *Mimi Kota* took the fire and went up the hill to the cave at *ŋaram*. They carried the fire under a cooking-pot. They kept the fire alight in the cave, until the storm was over."

Another *Aka-Jeru* legend was taken down hurriedly and the full details were not obtained. "The people made a noise in the evening when *Mite* (the cicada) was singing. *Mite* went to see her mother *Biliku*. Her mother saw her eyes and face. She looked bad. Her eyes were red (with weeping). *Biliku* was very angry. There was a big storm and heavy rain. *Biliku* threw her pearl shells (lightning). She went mad. She destroyed the whole world. *Biliku* went up to live in the sky. The earth was bare (literally, empty). One day *Biliku* dropped a *Dipterocarpus* seed from the sky. Out of this all the different kinds of tree grew, and the earth was again covered with

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 167.

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forest." There was more of the legend, which I was unable at the time to understand, and which I did not hear again. My informant added "It was on this occasion that *Maia Taolu* saved the fire."

An *Aka-Čari* legend relates how the birds and beasts and fishes arose. "*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) once got angry and threw fire at the people (the ancestors). They all turned into birds and fishes. The birds flew into the jungle. The fishes jumped into the sea. *Maia Dik*[1] himself became a large prawn which is still called by the same name." In connection with this legend it must be remembered that it was *Maia Dik*, according to one legend, who first discovered the use of fire. One version of the story said that he made fire by striking a piece of *parayo* wood. Then he threw the burning wood about amongst the ancestors and they turned into birds and fishes.

An *Aka-Jeru* version is very similar. "The people were all asleep. *Maia Kọlo* (Sir Sea-eagle) came and threw fire amongst them. They awoke in a fright and all ran in different directions. Some ran into the sea and became fishes and turtle; others ran into the jungle and became birds."

The *Aka-Kede* version of the catastrophe that overtook the ancestors is as follows. "It was at the place called *Čilpet*. The people collected a lot of honey. They refused to give any to *Kọpo-tera-wat* (a bird, not identified). The latter got very angry, and in the evening, when the cicadæ were singing he made a great noise and disturbed their song. Then there arose a great storm, and it rained very heavily, and the sea rose over the land. It rose very rapidly till only the top of a big *Dipterocarpus* tree showed above the water. The people took refuge in the branches of this tree. *Mima Mite* (Lady Dove) managed to rescue some fire and keep it alight under a cooking pot. The waters at length subsided. Then the people did not know how to get down from the tree. *Mima Čarami-lebek* made a long piece of string and with this she lowered the people

[1] *Dik* was one of the ancestors. He was a giant and was so big that he could go into the deepest water and never needed a canoe. He used to shoot dugong and porpoise with his bow and arrow. (The natives shoot small fish with a bow and arrows, but large fish and dugong and porpoise they take with harpoons.)

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safely to the ground." The *ćarami-lebek*, which was not identified, is a species of bird that lives, so the natives say, only at the top of the very tallest trees of the forest.

An *Aka-Kǫl* version of the same legend is as follows: "At first there were no birds in the jungle and no fish in the sea. The ancestors were playing one evening and making a noise while the *peti* (cicada) was singing. Then *Bilik* got angry and sent a great cyclone. All the people were turned into birds and fishes and turtles and jungle beasts."

There is an *A-Pučikwar* legend that, in the days of the ancestors, there was a big cyclone. There was a flood at *Wota-emi* and the water rose up over the trees. Some of the ancestors climbed up into a big *Dipterocarpus* tree and remained there till the waters had subsided. I was not able to hear any more detailed version of the legend.

The following legend explaining how the ancestors were turned into animals was told me by an *A-Pučikwar* man, but it is probably really of *Akar-Bale* origin.

"It was in the days of the ancestors. *Ta Kǫlwǫt* (Sir Tree-lizard) went over to a big meeting at *Teb-juru* (in the Archipelago). There was a lot of dancing. *Kǫlwǫt* decided to give a big dancing party of his own. He invited everybody and they all came to his place. *Kǫlwǫt* danced a great deal. He began to get wild. All the people were afraid, because he was very strong. They caught hold of him by the arms. *Kǫlwǫt* got very angry. He threw the people from him. He threw them so violently that some fell in the sea and became fishes and turtle. Others fell on different islands and became birds and animals. No one could hold *Kǫlwǫt*. At last *Berep* (a species of crab) caught hold of his arm and would not let go. And thus *Berep* stopped him. Before this there had been no birds in the jungles nor any fish in the sea."

A more complete version of this story was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe. "*Da Tigbul* (Sir Dugong) took all the people to dance at *Kwaičo*. *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat) told *Da Kwǫkǫl* (Sir Tree-lizard) that people were coming from *Tar-mugu* to dance and that *Da Karami*[1] would quarrel with

[1] *Karami* is the name of a bird that was not identified.

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him. *Da Kwọkọl* replied 'Oh! I don't care. I can fight all those people easily enough.' All the people came together for the dance and *Karami* quarrelled with *Kwọkọl*. The latter got very angry. The people were afraid. *Tigbul* (Dugong) caught hold of *Kwọkọl* by the arm. *Kwọkọl* threw him from him with such force that *Tigbul* fell into the sea and became a dugong. Then *Kočurag-boa* caught hold of *Kwọkọl* and *Kwọkọl* threw him into the jungle[1]. *Kwọkọl* threw all the people into the sea or into the jungle and they became birds and beasts and fishes. No one could hold him. *Da Kwọkọl* went away to *Teb-juru*. The people told *Da Berag* (Sir Crab) what had happened at *Kwaičo* and how no one could hold *Da Kwọkọl*. *Da Berag* went after him to *Teb-juru*. *Da Kwọkọl* had covered himself with *kọiob* (red paint)[2]. *Da Berag* pretended that he wanted some paint to put on his upper lip, saying that he was sick. There was no more red paint in the place, so *Da Kwọkọl* said 'You had better come and take some off me.' *Da Berag* put his nose to *Kwọkọl's* arm as though to get some paint, and bit deeply into *Kwọkọl's* shoulder. *Kwọkọl* could not get loose, and so he died. The people at *Teb-juru* attacked *Da Berag* and beat him. They could not kill him, because his skin was too hard, so they threw him into the sea. When *Kwọkọl's* mother, *Kegya*, came and found her son dead she was very angry. She wept for a long time. Then she went into the jungle and cut the plant *tọkul* which belongs to *Puluga*. *Puluga* was angry because the *tọkul* was cut and sent a big storm which killed *Kegya* and all the other people in that place."

Mr Man records another version of this legend.

"To explain the origin of certain fish, they say that one day before the Deluge, *Maia Kọlwọt* went to visit an encampment of the *Tomola* situated in the Archipelago. While engaged in his song the women, through inattention to his instructions, marred the effect of the chorus, so, to punish them, he seized

[1] *Kočurag-boa* is the *Akar-Bale* name for a huge legendary animal.

[2] When a man has killed another, either in a personal or a tribal quarrel, he has to observe several customs of which one is to keep himself painted with red paint for several weeks.

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his bow, whereupon the whole party in terror fled in all directions; some escaping into the sea were changed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and various other fish which till then had not been seen[1]."

Mr Man gives still another version of the same story. "One day, at the commencement of the rainy season, a *tomola* named *Berebi* came to visit *Kolwot's* mother, *Čana Erep*, with the express intention of seeing her son, of whom he was extremely jealous. When he appeared *Berebi* treacherously bit him in the arm, but his teeth became fixed in the flesh and he was therefore unable to detach himself from his victim, whose friends promptly avenged his murder, and disposed of the corpses by throwing them into the sea. (*Kolwot*, after death, was transformed into a species of tree-lizard, which is still named after him, and *Berebi* became a fish called *Koyo*, which is armed with a row of poisonous barbs in its back.) The bereaved mother, in her rage, grief and despair, committed various acts, against which *Tomo* had been warned by *Puluga*, and while so doing incited others to follow her example by the following words:—

e, e, e, dia ra-gumul l'ab-dala,
e, e, e, ŋul kaja pij pugatken,
e, e, e, ŋul čoaken toaiken,
e, e, e, ŋul boarato aga-kolaken,
e, e, e, ŋul gono boaŋken,
e, e, e, ŋul toŋ čoara boaŋken,
e, e, e, ŋig arlot pulaijoken.

The translation of which is:—

e, e, e (sobbing)—My grown-up handsome son,
" " Burn the wax,
" " Grind the seed of the *čakan* (*Entada*),
" " Destroy the *barata* (*Caryota*),
" " Dig up the *gono* (yam),
" " Dig up the *čati* (yam),
" " Destroy everything."

Thereupon *Puluga* was exceeding wroth, and sent the flood, that which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 171.

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"This tradition is preserved in the following lines:—

Keledoat ibaji lar čora,
Ra-gumul ab-gorga en ig-boadi
Ra-gumul le liga koarna
Ra-gumul ab-gorka
Toala arbo eb dagan čoarpo.

The meaning of which is:—

Bring the boat to the beach
I will see your fine grown-up son,
The grown-up son who threw the youths (into the sea)
The fine grown-up son,
My adze is rusty, I will stain my lips with his blood.

In this, as in all their songs and chants, a good deal is left to the imagination, but from their explanations which have been given by the aborigines, the following appear to afford some light on the subject:—*Berebi*, being jealous of the renown *Kolwot* had won for himself by his numerous accomplishments and great strength, took advantage of meeting him and his mother one day on the water to ask them to let him enter their boat. On their complying with his request, he provided himself with a rusty adze and hone, remarking on the rusty condition of the former; then taking *Kolwot* by the arm he sniffed it from the wrist to the shoulder as if admiring the development of the muscles; while doing so he muttered the threat of staining his lips with blood, which he shortly after fulfilled in the manner already described[1]."

As the songs given in this legend are in the *Akar-Bale* language (Southern dialect), it is probable that the legend is an *Akar-Bale* one. It is really another version of the legend already given.

Another *Akar-Bale* story tells how the first ancestors *Duku*, the monitor lizard, and *Bain* the civet-cat, managed to keep the fire alight when a flood overwhelmed them. "One day in the time of the ancestors there came a great storm, and the water rose over the land. The rain put out the fires. *Da Duku* (Sir Monitor Lizard) took a smouldering log and tried to climb up a tree with it. He could not climb with the fire in his hand. His wife *In Bain* (Lady Civet-cat) took the fire from him and took it

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 167—169.

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up to the top of a hill and there kept it alight till the rain stopped and the water went away. The hill is called *Bain l'it-čapa* (Bain's fire) to the present day." The hill is a rather steep-sided hill of no great height in Havelock Island.

Mr Portman[1] connects the story of the flood with the story of the dispersion of the ancestors over the islands. Referring to the names of the tribes he says, "The Andamanese state that these names were given to the different tribes by *Maia Tomo-la* when they were dispersed after a cataclysm. They have a tradition that this group of tribes was once all one tribe, and that the Andaman Islands were much larger than at present. Some great cataclysm occurred during which part of the islands subsided and many aborigines were drowned, the remainder being separated into different territories as at present by the orders of *Maia Tomo-la*, apparently the chief at that time of the collected tribe. (The above is of course a matter-of-fact version of the fanciful and impossible legends of the Andamanese.)"

The dispersion legend in the South Andaman is connected with the name of the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. The name (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who talk the original language," it being believed that the *A-Pučikwar* language was the one originally spoken by the ancestors.

The only version of the dispersion legend that I heard was from the *Aka-Kede* tribe. It was to the effect that *Bilika* once seized all the ancestors and put them in a netted bag (such as the natives use for carrying small objects of various kinds). She (or he) took them out a few at a time and put them in different parts of the country, where their descendants have been ever since.

Mr Man speaks of a legend of how the tribes came to be dispersed over the islands. From his account it would seem that there were two different dispersions, one before the Deluge, and a second after it. Mr Man's account is as follows. "*Tomo* lived to a great age, but even before his death his offspring became so numerous that their home could no longer accommodate them. At *Puluga's* bidding they were furnished with all necessary weapons, implements, and fire, and then scattered in

[1] *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 27.

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pairs all over the country. When this exodus occurred *Puluga* provided each party with a distinct dialect. It would almost seem that, without straining the legend to suit facts, we might discern in this a faint echo of the Biblical account of the confusion of tongues and dispersion at Babel[1]."

"Consequent on the disappearance of *Tomo* and his wife, the duties of headship over the community at *Wota-emi* devolved on one of their grandchildren, named *Kolwot*, who was distinguished by being the first to spear and catch turtles. The *tomola* remained on the islands long after *Tomo's* transformation, but after *Kolwot's* death, according to one legend, they grew disobedient, and as *Puluga* ceased to visit them, became more and more remiss in their observance of the commands given at the creation. At last *Puluga's* anger burst forth, and, without any warning, he sent a great flood that covered the whole land, and destroyed all living. Four persons (two men, *Lora-lola* and *Poi-lola*, and two women, *Ka-lola* and *Rima-lola*), who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *Wota-emi*, where they landed and discovered that every living thing on earth had perished; but *Puluga* re-created the animals, birds, etc.[2]."

"When, for the second time in their history, their numbers had increased to so great an extent that it became impossible for them to remain together in one spot, an exodus, similar to the first, took place; each party being furnished with fire and every other essential, started in a different direction, and on settling down adopted a new and distinct dialect. They each received a tribal name, and from them have sprung the various tribes still existing on the islands[3]."

In the Southern tribes there is a legend to account for the origin of night. The following version was obtained from the *A-Pučikwar* tribe. "In the early days of the world, in the time of the ancestors, there was no night; it was always day. *Ta Petie* (Sir Monitor Lizard) went into the jungle to dig up yams. He found some yams. He also found some resin (*teki*), and a cicada (*roto*). He brought them to the camp of the ancestors at

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 166. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.

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Wota-emi. He sat down and the people came round him. *Ta Pẹtie* took the cicada and rubbed it between his hands and crushed it. As he did this the cicada uttered its cry. Then the day went away and it was dark. It remained dark for several days. The ancestors came together and tried to get back the day. They made torches of resin, and danced and sang songs. First *Kotare* (a bird) sang a song, but he could not get back the daylight. Then *Bumu* (a beetle?) sang, but the day would not come. Then *Pecerọl* (the bulbul, *Otocompsia emeria*) sang, and after him *Kọio* (a bird), but both in vain. Then *Kọŋoro* (a species of ant) sang a song and morning came. After that, day and night followed one another alternately."

A similar legend was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe. "*Da Teŋat*[1] lived at *Golugma Bud*. He went fishing one day and got only one small fish of the kind called *čelau* (*Glyphidodon sordidus*?). He turned to go home, and as he went he shot his arrows before him into the jungle[2]. Then he went after his arrows to find them again. As he went he spoke to the fruits of the jungle, asking them their names. In those days the ancestors did not know the names of the fruits and trees. First he asked the *puiam*, and then the *guluba*, and then the *čakli*, but none of them replied to him. Then he found his first arrow. It was stuck fast in a big yam (*gono*). He took the arrow and said to the yam 'What is your name?' At first the yam did not answer. *Teŋat* turned to go away. He had gone a few steps when the yam called him back, saying 'My name is *gono*.' *Teŋat* replied 'Oh! I did not know. Why did not you say so before?' He dug up the yam, which was a very big one. He went off to look for his second arrow. As he went he spoke to the stones of the jungle, asking their names, but none of them replied. Then he found his second arrow fixed in a large lump of resin (*tug*)[3]. He took the arrow, and as he was going away

[1] This is the name of some creature that I did not identify, perhaps a kind of spider.

[2] An Andaman Islander will often, when walking along the shore, shoot his arrows before him, either aiming at some object, or trying to send each one as far as possible. I have never seen them do this in the jungle, for they might easily lose the arrows.

[3] The Andamanese classify resin as a "stone" although they know its vegetable origin.

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the resin called him back, saying 'Here! my name is *tug*; you can take me along with you.' So *Teŋat* took the resin. Then *Teŋat* found a cicada (*rita*), and he took that also. When *Teŋat* got to the hut (*bud*), everyone came to look at the things he had brought. He showed them the yam. He told them its name and showed them how to cook it. This was the first time that the ancestors ate *gono*. Then *Teŋat* took in his hand the cicada and squashed it between his palms. As he killed it the cicada uttered its cry and the whole world became dark. When the people saw that it was dark they tried to bring back the daylight. *Teŋat* took some of the resin and made torches. He taught the people how to dance and sing. When *Da Koŋoro* (Sir Ant) sang a song the day came back. After that the day and night came alternately."

Mr Man records a different version of this story.

"The manner in which the world was illuminated at the beginning is not clearly to be ascertained from their legends, for one story states that the sun and moon were subsequently created at *Tomo's* request, as he found that, under the then existing circumstances, it was impossible to catch fish by night or to hunt by day; while, in direct disagreement with this, another story tells us that night was a punishment brought upon mankind by certain individuals who angered *Puluga* by killing a caterpillar. The tale informs us that the sun, one day, burned so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women named *Ćana Limi* and *Ćana Jarayud*, became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy frame of mind they discovered a caterpillar (*gurug*) and a certain plant called *utura*. By way of venting their spleen, one crushed the helpless grub, and the other destroyed the plant. These wanton acts so displeased *Puluga* that he determined to punish them, and to teach them to appreciate the privilege of daylight, which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. He accordingly visited the earth with a long-continued darkness, which caused every one much inconvenience and distress. At last their chief, *Maia Koŋwot*, to whom reference has already been made, hit upon a happy expedient of inducing *Puluga* to restore the former state of things by trying to assure him that they were quite unconcerned, and could enjoy

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themselves in spite of light being withheld from them. To accomplish this, he invented the custom of dancing and singing, the result of which was that *Puluga*, finding that they had frustrated his intention, granted, as a first concession alternate periods of day and night, and subsequently, moved by the difficulties often occasioned by the latter, created the moon to mitigate their troubles. It is in this way that they account for the same word being used to denote a caterpillar and night[1]."

From the *Akar-Bale* tribe I obtained a legend about the origin of death. No other version of the same legend was obtained.

"At *J̌oŋo-l'ar-boŋ* lived *In Kalwadi* with her sons *Yaramurud* and *Toau*[2]. *Yaramurud* went to hunt pig for his mother, but was unsuccessful. When he came home his mother brought him some pork that was in the hut. As he took his knife from the back of his neck to cut the meat with it, he cut himself[3]. Then his mother knew that he was dead. She said to him 'You are dead now. You had better go away. We do not want you here any more.' She took him up and carried him into the jungle and buried him, returning home. Very soon *Yaramurud* returned. His mother exclaimed 'Oh! I thought you had gone.' He replied 'Mother, I did not die. Why did you bury me?' But she knew he was dead, so she took him and buried him again. He came back again. This happened three times. Then *Kalwadi* took him into the jungle to a big *dumla* tree (*Pisonia excelsa*), in which there was a big hole. She kicked the tree with her foot and said 'You go in there.' *Yaramurud* went inside. 'Well! Have you gone?' his mother asked. He answered 'Yes!' 'Tell me how the spirits (*čauga*) talk' she asked him, and he replied '*Tǫ kit*[4].' Then his mother knew that he was with the spirits, and said 'Oh! my child, you are

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 172.

[2] *Kalwadi* is a small crab, *yaramurud* is the crow pheasant (*Centropus andamanensis*), and *toau* is the hawksbill turtle.

[3] Knives are generally carried slipped into a string that is tied round the neck, the knife, with a skewer of sharpened wood that is attached to it, hanging at the back of the neck, where it is easily accessible and not likely to get lost.

[4] I could obtain no explanation of the phrase, or word, *tǫ kit*. My informant only said "That is the way the spirits talk."

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finished now. You will never come back again.' After a few days *Yaramurud* came back (as a spirit) to see his brother *Toau*. *Toau* was busy building a hut. When *Yaramurud* saw him he killed him. Before this there had been no death. But *In Kalwadi* told the people, saying 'You see what has happened; well, we shall all of us die like this, like these two have done'."

There is a widespread legend to account for the origin of creeks and islands. The following is an *A-Pučikwar* version.

"At first there was only one big island with the sea all round it. There were no small islands and no creeks. *Kǫŋoro* (a species of ant) made a turtle net and went fishing. He caught a very big fish of the kind called *kǫro-ŋiti-čau* in his net, and dived down and attached a rope to its tail. The fish got very angry and made furious plunges to get away, striking the land in its struggles, and each time knocking off a bit of the land or making a long split. This is the origin of the smaller islands and the creeks."

Mr Man records the same legend, but says it was *Tomo* who caught the fish[1]. In an *Akar-Bale* version it was *Da Pečerǫl* who caught the fish (*kǫroŋadi*). *Pečerǫl* is the bulbul (*Otocompsia emeria*). I have the name *kǫroŋadi* in my notes as being *Sphyraena acutipinnis*, but the identification is a doubtful one. In the *Aka-Kede* tribe there is a version in which it is stated that one of the ancestors captured a fish called *talepo*. This does not seem to be the same species of fish as that called *koro-ŋiti-čau* or *kǫroŋadi* in the South. In the North Andaman the legend is that *Perǰido*, the son of *Biliku*, shot a large eel (*bol*) with an arrow, and in its endeavours to get free from the arrow the eel wriggled about till it made all the creeks.

In the Southern tribes there is a legend that relates how the pig first got its senses. A version from the *A-Pučikwar* tribe is as follows.

"*Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) went into the jungle and found a lot of pigs. They did not run away when he came because they had no eyes to see him, no ears to hear, and no nostrils with which to smell. They had no mouths. *Mita* made mouths for them and gave them tusks which he made of *tobur* wood. He made

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165.

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eyes and ears and nostrils in their heads and taught them how to grunt and how to sneeze[1]."

Another version from the same tribe is as follows.

"At first the pigs had neither nose nor ears nor eyes. They used to stand about at *Wota-emi* when the ancestors lived there. The people ate a great many of them. They were such a nuisance that *Mita* (Dove), the wife of *Tomo*, thought of a plan to get them out of the way. She bored holes in their heads, two for eyes, two for ears, and two for nostrils. The pigs ran off into the forest where they have been ever since."

I did not obtain any version of this legend from the Northern tribes. The *Aka-Kede* have a different legend about the pigs.

"At first there were no pigs. One of the ancestors, *Mimi Čau* (Lady Civet-cat), invented a new game, and made the ancestors run on all fours and grunt. Those playing were turned into pigs, and went to live in the jungle. *Mimi Čau* became a civet-cat (*čau*)."

In the North Andaman there is a legend connected with the pig which explains the origin of the dugong.

"*Pęrjido* was the first man to catch a pig. He went into the forest and found a pig. *Pęrjido* was hungry. He caught the pig and took it home. The pig had no eyes nor ears nor mouth. *Pęrjido* did not disembowel the pig, nor did he sever the joints of its legs[2]. He made a fire and put the pig on it. The pig swelled up in the heat of the fire and burst. This made holes in the pig's head, two for ears, two for eyes, two for nostrils. The pig perceived that it was being burnt. It jumped up from the fire and ran away. *Pęrjido* threw a *kọbo* (*Licuala*) leaf at it. The pig ran into the sea and became a dugong. The leaf became its flipper."

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe there is a legend describing the origin of turtles.

"At first there was only one big turtle. He came to the camp of the *Aka-Čari* people and called them, saying 'Bring your canoes and catch me.' They got into their canoes and

[1] The sneezing (the word is translated literally) is a sort of whistling noise that the wild pigs make when they suspect danger.

[2] The Andamanese always disembowel a pig and sever the joints of its legs before they place it on a fire.

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followed the turtle. They could not catch him. The turtle swam away and the canoes followed. When the canoes were far from land the big turtle came and upset the canoes. The men were all turned into turtles of the same kind and size as those that are seen now. The canoes (and the big turtle?) were turned into a reef."

In the South Andaman it is supposed that the custom of scarifying the skin was invented by the first ancestor of the Andamanese, the monitor lizard. An *Akar-Bale* version of the story is as follows.

"*Duku* (Monitor Lizard) lived with his wife *Bain* (Civet-cat). *Duku* said 'I am going to scarify myself.' His wife tried to dissuade him. He would not listen to her. He went into the jungle and found a piece of *tolma*[1] (quartz) and scarified himself all over. His wife was very angry and asked him why he had done it. *Duku* replied 'I look very well like this, and you will see, all the other people will do the same'."

Mr Man gives a version of the same legend.

"*Maia Duku*, who appears to be identical with *Tomo*, is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *Duku* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang the ditty:—

Toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken! toŋ yitiken!
toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken!

the interpretation of which is

'What can now strike me?
I am tattooed, I am tattooed!' etc. (Da capo)[1]."

It would seem that Mr Man, or else his informant, was not very clear about the details of the legend. In the South Andaman scarification is never performed with an arrow-head, nor with any instrument of iron, but with a flake of quartz or glass. It is only in the North and Middle Andaman that an arrow-head is used for such a purpose, and even then it is only so used to make the big scars on the back and chest, the ordinary scarifica-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

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tion being performed with a flake of stone or glass. The legend is certainly a Southern one, and the song given is in the *Aka-Bea* language. The accuracy of the transcription of the legend therefore seems very doubtful.

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Yams and honey, being two of the most important foods of the Andaman Islanders, are the subject of several legends. A common belief about yams is that they were made, or their qualities were first discovered, by *Biliku* or *Puluga*. We have already seen that there is a special connection between *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) and the yams and other edible roots. There are also other legends, however, on the same subject. An account of the first discovery of the yam called *gono* is contained in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of night, already given[1].

In the North Andaman the following tale is told about the discovery of one kind of yam.

"*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) discovered *ko̱nmo* (*Dioscorea* sp.). He was very hungry and went to look for something to eat. He found a very large *ko̱nmo*. There was only one *ko̱nmo*. He cooked it in the fire and ate as much as he could. He dashed the remainder on a rock, and the fragments scattered everywhere and grew into fresh plants. After this there were plenty of *ko̱nmo* everywhere."

A legend is also told in the North Andaman about the first discovery of another kind of yam.

"*Maia Pulimu* (Sir Fly) and *Maia Mo̱ičo* (Sir Rail) went to hunt pig. They killed one pig. There was nothing to tie up the pig (to carry it home). *Maia Pulimu* went to look for a creeper (with which to tie up the pig). He caught hold of a creeper and pulled it and found it was a *mino* (*Dioscorea* sp.). *Maia Pulimu* was a long time away. *Maia Mo̱ičo* went and found some creeper for himself and tied up the pig and carried it home. When *Maia Pulimu* came back he found that *Maia Mo̱ičo* had gone and taken the pig. He followed him and went home. He showed the ancestors how to cook and eat *mino*."

I believe that there is a fuller version of this legend, which I was unable, however, to obtain. Another of my informants told me the story as follows.

[1] Page 214.

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"*Mimi Mo̤ičo* (Lady Rail) had a son *Pulimu* (Fly). *Pulimu* found a *mino* in the forest and brought it to his mother. They roasted it in the fire."

Mr Man gives a story from the South Andaman.

"Another of their antediluvian ancestors was famous for propagating yams. This was *Maia Bumroag*, who in shooting an arrow, struck the creeper belonging to the favourite variety called *gono*; his curiosity being excited he dug up the root, and tasted it: the result being satisfactory, he informed his friends of his discovery, and they all feasted upon it; when they had had sufficient, he scattered the remains in different directions; this apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretence of shaving him, she split his head open with a flint. After his death it was found that the act for which he had suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful[1]."

In the North Andaman it is supposed that honey was discovered by *Pe̤rǰido* the son of *Biliku*.

"*Pe̤rǰido* was the first to eat honey. One day he went to shoot fish. He saw a *nyuri* (*Plotosus* sp.). The *nyuri* disappeared amongst the roots of the mangrove trees. *Pe̤rǰido* was looking for the fish. There was a honeycomb in a mangrove tree. *Pe̤rǰido* saw its reflection in the water. He took some fire and tried to get the honey out of the water[2]. The water put out the fire. He could not get the honey. He went home and told his mother what he had been doing. She went with him and saw the honey. 'What a fool you are' she said, 'don't you see that it is in the trees.' *Pe̤rǰido* took some fire and smoked out the bees and took the honey. After that *Pe̤rǰido* used to go and collect honey. He ate it all himself. He did not tell the others (the ancestors) about it. *Maia Po̤rubi* (Sir Frog) found out that *Pe̤rǰido* was getting honey and eating it. He went in to the forest to look for some. He found five or six combs. He ate them all and brought none home to his children. *Be̤re̤t* (a smaller species of frog) was the child of *Po̤rubi*. One day *Be̤re̤t* said to his father 'Bring us some honey.' The children went with their father and showed him the combs in the trees.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

[2] In taking a honeycomb the natives often drive away the bees with fire or smoke.

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Pɒrubi went up the tree, and each time he ate the honey in the tree and did not bring any of it down for his children. Then *Bɛrɛt* saw another honeycomb in a very tall tree. He pointed it out to his father. *Pɒrubi* went up to get it. *Bɛrɛt* cut the creeper up which his father had climbed[1]. *Pɒrubi* wrapped up the honeycomb to bring it down. *Bɛrɛt* said 'Father, this creeper is bad. How will you come down?' *Pɒrubi* replied 'How can it be bad, when I have just climbed up it?' *Bɛrɛt* made some sharp stakes of *čɒm* (*Areca*) wood, and put them round the tree. *Pɒrubi* jumped (or fell) from the tree on to the stakes and was killed. *Bɛrɛt* took the honey and ran away home."

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe there is another legend connected with the frog (*pɒrubi*) which may conveniently be given here.

"The ancestors were at enmity with *Maia Pɒrubi*. They went to kill him. They shot him with their arrows, but they could not kill him. *Maia Pɒrubi* caught hold of them all in his arms, and jumped into the sea. He jumped from the hill called *Čauanara*. He found a big round stone (boulder) and put the people under it and left them there. All the people turned into stone, and may be seen there now. The next night some more of the people went to hunt turtle near *Maia Pɒrubi's* place. They caught a turtle and shouted[2]. *Maia Pɒrubi* heard them shouting. 'They are coming again to kill me,' he said. While they were catching turtle he threw a round stone at them. The stone sank the canoe. The canoe and the people in it were turned to stone."

A story in which there is a connection between honey and a toad is given by Mr Man.

"Another curious fable is told to account for a drought from which their early ancestors suffered: it relates that once upon a time, in the dry season, a woodpecker discovered a black honeycomb in the hollow of a tree; while regaling himself on this dainty he observed a toad eyeing him wistfully from below, so he invited him to join in the feast; the toad gladly accepted, whereupon the woodpecker lowered a creeper, giving instructions to

[1] In climbing a tall tree the Andamanese choose a stout cane or other creeper depending from one of the branches of the tree, and climb up it.

[2] The natives express their joy at a success in hunting by shouting.

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his guest to fasten his bucket (*dakar*) thereto, and then to seat himself in it, so that he might be drawn up. The toad complied with the directions and the woodpecker proceeded to haul him up; but just when he had brought him near the comb he mischievously let go the creeper, and his confiding and expectant guest experienced an unpleasant fall. The trick so exasperated him that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them, the result of which was that great distress was occasioned to all the birds, as well as to the rest of the animate creation. The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction, and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him, and the drought soon terminated[1]."

One of the incidents of the North Andaman story of the frog (*Pɵrubi*) and his son (*Bɵrɵt*) appears in a different story from the South and Middle Andaman. The following is an *Aka-Kɵl* version of this legend.

"*Ta Mita* (Sir Dove) and *Ta Kɵio* (a species of small bird) went hunting together and got a great number of pigs. *Ta Kɵio* told *Ta Mita* to get some canes to tie up all the pigs. As soon as *Ta Mita* had gone to look for the cane, *Ta Kɵio* went up a big *Dipterocarpus* tree, taking half the pigs with him. He came down and took the rest of the pigs. He stayed up in the tree with the pigs. When *Ta Mita* came back he found that the pigs had disappeared. He was very angry and went home. As there was nothing to eat, *Mita* and his two children, *Ćada* and *Ćoda* (two species of fish) went fishing. *Kɵio* was still up the tree. He was cooking the pigs up there. *Mita* and his children passed under the tree and some burning resin[2] fell on them. In this way they discovered that *Kɵio* was in the tree. *Mita* planned to punish *Kɵio*. He cut a great number of sharp stakes of *Areca* wood and fixed them all round the tree, pointing upwards. *Kɵio* was asleep. *Mita* made the tree sink into the ground. As soon as it was low enough he took some water and threw it into the

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 173.

[2] The narrator said "resin." The *Dipterocarpus* tree does not produce resin, but a sort of oil. The marks on the two fishes owe their origin to this incident.

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ear of the sleeping *Kọio*, who awoke in a fright and jumped from the tree. He was impaled on the stakes of wood and so died."

Another version of the same tale was obtained from the *Akar-Bale* tribe.

"*Da Bumu* (a species of bird) went hunting pig with *Da Berakwe* (another species of bird), and they got a large number of pigs. Then *Berakwe* said to *Bumu* 'We want some cane to tie up all these pigs. You go and get it.' When *Bumu* had gone *Berakwe* climbed up into a big *Dipterocarpus* tree, taking all the pigs with him, except one very small one which he left behind. When *Bumu* came back with the cane he found only one small pig, and he was very angry. He went home with the pig. *Bumu's* wife *Yakoŋ* (a species of fish) said 'I am very hungry. We will go and get some fish by night.' At night *Yakoŋ* went out to get some fish and she passed under the tree where *Berakwe* was cooking his pigs. Some burning resin fell on her and burnt her. She looked up and saw *Berakwe* and said 'Oh! there you are; you stole all my husband's pigs.' She went home and told *Bumu*. In the morning *Bumu* got up very early and cut a number of pointed stakes of *Areca* (*čam*) wood, and fixed them all round the tree where *Berakwe* was, with the sharp points upwards. Then *Bumu* made the tree sink gradually into the ground. *Berakwe* fell from the tree on to the stakes and so was killed. *Bumu* and his wife got the pigs."

Mr Man records a version of the same story.

"The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as *Čọl* is as follows:—Their ancestor, *Maia Čọl*, one day stole a pig which had been captured by *Maia Kọlwọt*, and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now *Maia Kọlwọt* was remarkable for his great strength, and being enraged, determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a number of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge, and then proceeded to force it into the ground. On finding that if he remained where he was, he must inevitably be buried alive, *Maia Čọl* sprang off the tree, and thereby met a more terrible fate, for he was impaled on the spikes, and perished miserably. His disembodied spirit did not pass to *Čaitan* (Hades), but took up its abode on the invisible bridge, where, by *Puluga's* orders, numbers of his

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descendants were sent to join him, in the form of black birds with long tails[1]."

In reference to this version it may be noted that the *Čọl* are not "spirits" if that word is used to translate the native term *čauga* or *lau*. *Čọl* is the name of a species of bird, which I believe is the racket-tailed drongo. These birds, though according to Mr Man they live on the rainbow, are to be seen every day in the jungle, and may be heard calling *čọl! čọl! čọl!*

Throughout the Great Andaman there is a belief in a huge animal that haunts the jungles, or that haunted them in the days of the ancestors. In the North Andaman this beast is called *J̌irmu*. In the days of the ancestors it is supposed to have lived at *Uliḃi-tay*, where it attacked and killed any men and women who came in its way. No detailed legend about the *J̌irmu* was obtained.

In the *Akar-Bale* language *Kočurag-boa* is the name of the same or a similar monster. In the *A-Pučikwar* language it is called *Učụ*. This is the name applied to two rocks of limestone which are situated about two or three miles south of *Wota-emi*, one being in a mangrove swamp, and the other some little way out in the sea. The following legend is told about these rocks.

"In the early days of the Andamanese, *Ta Pẹtie* (Sir Monitor Lizard), the first ancestor, went into the jungle and found a *čọti* tree, up which he climbed to eat the fruit. The other people (who lived with him at *Wota-emi*) came and found him, and *Ta Pẹtie* threw down some of the fruit to them, which they ate. The people began to bully *Pẹtie* to make him throw down more of the fruit. *Pẹtie* got angry and said 'If you bully me like that I will call the *Učụ*, and they will kill you all.' The people only laughed at him. *Pẹtie* called the *Učụ*, calling '*Dire! dire!*' The *Učụ* came, one male and one female. They caught all the people and ate them. Only *Pẹtie* they did not eat because he was up in the high tree. The *Učụ* went off to cross the strait to *Tọl-l'oko-tima*. They had eaten so much that they were very heavy and stuck in the sand and mud at the edge of the mangrove swamp. When *Pẹtie* came down from the tree he found all the people gone. He said 'Hallo! the *Učụ* must have eaten

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 173.

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them all.' He went to look. He found the *Učų* stuck fast at the edge of the mangrove swamp, so that they could not move. He cut open their bellies and all the people came out, for the *Učų* had swallowed them whole. The *Učų* are there to this day."

When elephants were first introduced into the Andamans for the use of the Forest Department, they were named *Učų* by the natives, and have ever since retained that name. Similarly the natives of the Northern tribes call them *J̌irmų*.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there is a legend to account for the origin of a rock standing in the sea at a place called *Kwaičo-bur*.

"*Ra-gumul Kwọkọl* went fishing with his bow and arrows in the sea. His bow and arrows and he himself were turned into stone, and may be seen there to the present day."

Kwọkọl is the common tree-lizard. *Ra-gumul* is the term applied to a youth or girl who has just passed through the pig-eating ceremony described in Chap. II. A youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some days after the ceremony in question. A version of the same legend is recorded by Mr Man.

"The story regarding certain *Tomola* who failed to observe the rules for neophytes, states that, on the day after they broke their fast of *reg-ǰiri* (kidney-fat of pig), they left the encampment without giving notice of their intention to their friends, and the result was that, when they were missed and searched for, it was found that they had gone to the shore to fish, and had there met a sad fate; the body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder, and turned into stone, while the other, likewise in a state of petrifaction, was standing erect beside it[1]."

A reef on the east side of Ritchie's Archipelago is said to have originated as follows.

"The people of *Kwaičo* went to *J̌ila* to hunt turtle, taking two canoes. While they were away their wives made up a big fire in the evening at *Kwaičo*. The hunters and their canoes were turned to stone, and formed the reefs that are now there."

I believe that the explanation of this story is the belief that the moon is angry when a bright fire is visible at the time when he rises in the evening shortly after sunset[2].

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 169.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 142.

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There seems to be a legend relating to a large snake called *ǫr-čubi* in the North Andaman, but I was not able to obtain a detailed version. The following was told me in *Aka-Jeru*.

"At *Dalamio*, in the time of the ancestors, there used to be a big snake of the kind called *ǫr-čubi*. He used to catch men and women when they were gathering honey, and kill them and eat them."

An *Akar-Bale* version is a little fuller.

"There was a man named *Biča* who went to look for honey in the jungle. He saw a big snake (*wara-jobo*) and from its neck was hanging a honeycomb. The snake was as big as a tree. 'Why don't you make your honey in the trees?' *Biča* said to the bees. He went home and called several of the men. They took their bows and arrows. They found the snake, and shot it with a great many arrows. They could not kill the snake, which ran away and was never seen again."

An *Akar-Bale* story relates how the first murder came to pass.

"*Da Ko* (Sir Crow) was the first of the Andamanese. He lived at *Kared-čar-buaro* with his wife *In Mud* (Lady Dove). He had a friend, *Badgi-beria* (Hawk). *Badgi-beria* had no wife and was jealous of *Da Ko* and wanted to get his wife. When *Da Ko* knew this he was very angry. He went into the jungle and hid himself. By and by he saw *Badgi-beria* and *Mud* coming along the path together. He took his bow and arrows and killed them."

Another *Akar-Bale* story about the dove is as follows.

"*Mud* and *Kulal* were cooking pig and got very hot. They went to bathe and were turned into birds."

Mud is the bronze-winged dove, *Chalcophaps indica*, and *kulal* is the teal, *Nettium albigulare*.

In the North Andaman there are tales about the sea-eagle (*kǫlo*). One is to the effect that at first he used *kǫbo* (*Licuala*) leaves to fly with. This was before he had wings of his own. Another story is as follows.

"*Maia Kǫlo* (Sir Sea-eagle) lived at *Čona* in *Tau-'ra-miku*. He had a hut in the top of a *tǫrǫktato* tree. He was unmarried.

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which the mourners are welcomed back to the society, just as returning friends are welcomed after an absence. It has nothing whatever to do, I believe, with the dead person for whom they have been mourning, but is merely an expression of solidarity between those still alive. Dancing and the decorations used in the dance, I have argued, are means by which the society expresses its own unity, and makes the individual realise what it means to be one of a group, so that in this dance we see the society once more coming together to continue its common life, and compelling those who have been cut off from it to feel, even against their inclinations, that they have become once more units of the social body. After this ceremony the mourners are relieved from the restrictions to which they were subjected.

In order to complete this discussion of the burial customs it is necessary to explain why a person's name should be dropped from use after his death, and although this will require a digression of some length, this seems the most convenient point at which to deal with it. There is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics, which in logic we describe by saying that the latter are included in the connotation of the name. The way in which the Andamanese represent this relation to themselves is shown in one of the legends. At a time when the ancestors did not know either the names or the uses of the different objects to be found in their country, one of them, *Da Tegat* by name, walked through the forest enquiring of the objects he met what were their names. From most of them he received no reply, but the yam and the resin replied to him and gave him their names. The legend shows that as soon as the hero of the tale knew the name of the yam he immediately knew that it was of use as a food and that it required to be cooked in a particular way, although he was *till then ignorant of those* important properties. Similarly, having discovered the name of the resin he knew that it could be made into a torch and so used to give light.

There is, to the mind of the Andaman Islander, a somewhat similar and very important connection between a person's name and what is here called his social personality, and this is exhibited in the customs whereby the name is avoided on certain

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787 825 temporarily vacate their huts and remain on the alert with their weapons ready for immediate use. The cry of another bird, called *chē·ra-*, informs them of the approaching visit of a friend. Finally, if while travelling they hear the cawing of a crow, they say they must be near some occupied, or recently abandoned encampment. This belief is doubtless traceable to the fact that these birds are among the principal scavengers of their camping grounds.

776 23. It has been noticed that they will never whistle between sunset and sunrise, and the reason they give is that this sound, more than any other, attracts *ē·rem-chàu·gala* during those hours. When animals behave in an unaccountable manner, especially at night, it is said to be because they see this demon.

773 **Religious Beliefs and Demonology.**—1. I have several times mentioned the Supernatural Beings, *Pū·luga-* and *ē·rem-chàu·gala*, and must now enter more into detail regarding the beliefs held by the Andamanese concerning these and other spirits.

2. Though no forms of worship or religious rites are to be found among them, yet are there certain beliefs regarding powers of good and evil, the Creation, and of a world beyond the grave, which show that even these savages have traditions more or less approximating the truth, but whence derived will ever remain a mystery.

3. It is extremely improbable that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries or others who might be supposed to have landed on their shores in by-gone years; for not only have they no tradition of any foreigners having settled in their midst and intermarried with their ancestors, or even of having so far established amicable intercourse as to be able to acquire a knowledge of any one of their languages, but our own records, so far from differing from theirs on these points, tend clearly to show that, from the earliest times till so recently as 1858, these islanders have been more or less universally regarded as cannibals, in consequence of which they were much dreaded by all navigating the adjacent seas. The persistency with which they resisted with showers of arrows all attempts to land on their shores,[1] precludes the belief that any one, prior to our settlement,[2] would from choice have visited these islanders in the vain hope of reclaiming them from their savage state, and in order to teach them the Biblical, Mahomedan, or other versions of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, &c.; while it may surely be

[1] The probable cause of their hostility will be explained in a later section (*vide post* "Trade, &c.," paragraph 1).

[2] In 1870 an orphanage was established at Ross Island (Port Blair) for children of the aborigines, but it is very doubtful whether even the more intelligent of the inmates have obtained, much less retained, more than an elementary knowledge of the outline of the truths of Christianity.

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assumed that if any shipwrecked persons had ever been cast on their coast, they would, in the improbable event of their lives being spared, have left some traces of the fact, such as might be looked for among the customs, in the culture, or physical characteristics of these savages, but these are vainly to be sought in any section of the race.

4. Moreover, to regard with suspicion, as some have done, the genuineness of such legends as those in question argues ignorance of the fact that numerous other tribes,[1] in equally remote or isolated localities have, when first discovered, been found to possess similar traditions on the subjects under consideration.

5. Further, on this subject as well as on all others in which there appeared any risk of falling into error, I have taken special care not only to obtain my information on each point from those who are considered by their fellow-tribesmen as authorities, but who, from having had little or no intercourse with other races, were in entire ignorance regarding any save their own legends: I have, besides, in every case, by subsequent inquiry, endeavoured to test their statements, with the trustworthiness of which I am thoroughly satisfied. I may also add that they all agree in stating that their accounts of the Creation, &c., were handed down to them by their first parent *Tô·mo·* (Adam), and his immediate descendants, while they trace all their superstitions and practices to the "days before the Flood!"

6. I shall presently speak of the legends current anent the Creation, and also the Fall and Deluge: the latter will there be seen to have been, *selon eux*, consequent on the former.

7. In spite of their knowledge of, or belief in, a Supreme Being,[2] whom they call *Pū·luga-*, they live in constant fear of certain evil spirits, whom they apprehend to be ever present, and on the watch to do them some bodily injury.

8. Of *Pū·luga-* they say that—

I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (now-a-days) invisible.

II. He was never born and is immortal.

III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate, were created, excepting only the powers of evil.

IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins,[3] while to

[1] A story of the Fall occurs in the myths of the Eskimo, the South Sea Islanders, the Zulus, the Australians and the New Zealanders (*vide* "Biblical Traditions and Savage Myths."—*St. James' Gazette*, July 14th, 1881.)

[2] *Vide* Mouat, pp. 303-4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Crimes," paragraph 2.

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marriage. The animals, birds, and fish will also re-appear in the new world in their present form.

29. This blissful state will be inaugurated by a great earthquake,[1] which, occurring by *Pū·luga-*'s command, will break the *pī·dga-làr-chàu·ga-* and cause the earth to turn over: all alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors.[2]

30. There is no trace to be found of the worship of trees, stones, or other objects, and it is a mistake to suppose[3] that they adore or invoke the celestial bodies. There is no salutation, dance, or festival of any kind held in honour of the new moon: its appearance does not evoke anything more than an exclamation such as *yē·lo! .ō·gar l'àidō·atire.* (Hurrah! there's the moon.)

Mythology.—1. In other sections mention has been made of *Pū·luga-*, the Creator of all, and it has also been stated that no reason is given for the formation of the earth's surface, except that it was according to His will, and the same hypothesis is held to account for the varying seasons.

2. Until recent years it was supposed[4] that the Andamanese were without traditions, and had no idea of their own origin, but since we have been enabled to become better acquainted with them it has been ascertained that such is not the case. While I have been extremely careful as to the source whence I obtained my information, I would at the same time mention that much that is found under these last headings has been obtained from the older and more intelligent members of distant communities, and is probably little, if at all, known to many of the rising generation in our immediate vicinity.

3. Certain mythic legends are related to the young by *ôko-pai·ad-*s,[5] parents, and others, which refer to the supposed adventures or history of remote ancestors, and, though the recital not unfrequently evokes much mirth, they are none the less accepted as veracious. The personages figuring in these tales are believed to be real and historical, but, beyond the fact of a very general acceptance and agreement of the traditions respecting them, no satisfactory traces are to be found of their existence except in the lively imaginations of their descendants.

4. There are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the

[1] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 16.

[2] Whether the fate of the former is irrevocably fixed is not explained, but with these, as with other savages, it is in vain to expect them to understand the logical conclusions to which their beliefs tend.

[3] *Vide* statements of Symes, Brown, Grant, and Anderson; *vide* also *ante* "Superstitions," paragraphs 9 and 10.

[4] *Vide* Mouat, p. 343.

[5] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

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creation and origin of the human species, but in the main features all are agreed. The following tradition appears to be the most generally received, and, as far as possible, it is given in the words in which it was first taken down:—

5. In the beginning, after the world had been made, *Pū·luga-* created a man whose name was *.tô·mo-*;[1] he was black, like the present inhabitants, but much taller and bearded. *Pū·luga-* showed him the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *.wòtàem·i-*[2] (the "Garden of Eden"), and, in doing so, told him not to partake of certain of them during the rains: he then taught him how to obtain and use fire; this he did by first stacking in alternate layers two varieties of wood known as *chôr-* and *bēr-*, and then bidding *chān·a .bō·do-* (Mother Sun) to come and sit on or near the pile until she had ignited it, after which she returned to her place in the sky. *.tô·mo-* was then taught how to cook pigs, which were easily caught, as they had in those days neither ears nor noses.

6. Another version relates that *Pū·luga-* came with a spirit or angel called *lach·i*[3] *.pū·nga .â·blola* to instruct *.tô·mo-*, who, at his direction, prepared a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled, and *.pū·nga .â·blola* proceeded to teach him how to cook food.

7. About the origin of the first woman, whose name was *chān·a .ē·lewadi*, there is a diversity of belief: according to some, *Pū·luga-* created her after he had taught *.tô·mo-* how to sustain life; others say that *.tô·mo-* saw her swimming near his home and called to her, whereupon she landed and lived with him; while a third story represents her as coming pregnant to Kyd Island, where she gave birth to several male and female children, who subsequently became the progenitors of the present race.

8. These legends ascribe the name *.tô·mola* to all the descendants of their first parents until the period of the Deluge. *.tô·mo-* had two sons and two daughters by *chān·a .ē·lewadi*; the names of the former were *.bī·rola* and *.bô·rola*, and of the latter *.rī·da* and *.chô·rmila*.

9. As time went on, the pigs multiplied to such an extent that they became a nuisance, so, with woman's ready wit, *chān·a .ē·lewadi* drilled holes in their heads and snouts, thereby giving them the powers of hearing and smelling, and enabling them to avoid danger and procure food for themselves. *Pū·luga-* then covered the whole land with jungle, into which the pigs

[1] The name of the first man among the Brazilians was *Tamoi* (*vide* Tylor's "Anthropology").

[2] Situated about long. 92° 52′, and lat. 12° 18′. Some assert that this event occurred at *.tô·lo-kòt imi-*, which is in the same district.

[3] *lach·i* is applied to deceased persons, and answers to "the late."

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wandered in various directions.[1] But this change was found to have its disadvantages, as it became next to impossible to catch the now wily *sus*. *Pū·luga-*, however, again came to the rescue, and taught *.tô·mo-* how to construct bows and arrows, and to hunt, after which he taught him to manufacture canoes and harpoons, and to fish. On a subsequent visit[2] he instructed *chān·a .ē·lewadi* in the art of basket and net-making, and in the use of red-ochre (*kòi·ob-*) and white clay[3] (*tâ·la-ōg-*), and thus by degrees he imparted to their first parents a knowledge of the various arts which have ever since been practised among them.

10. *.tô·mo* and *.e·lewadi* were also told that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *bū·tu-*,[4] which are under *Pū·luga-*'s special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kō·pke*) with an adze, would cause the *bū·tu-*s' heads to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *bū·tu-* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed.

11. As soon as the first couple were united *Pū·luga-* gave them the *.bō·jig-yâ·b-* dialect, which is the language spoken to this day, according to their belief, by the tribe inhabiting the south and south-eastern portion of Middle Andaman, in which district *.wòtàem·i-* is situated. It is, therefore, regarded as the mother tongue from which the dialects of the various other tribes have sprung.

12. The canoes used in those days are said to have had no outriggers, and were made by scooping out the trunk of the *Pandanus*, which is believed to have been much larger than it is now-a-days, and well adapted for the purpose.

13. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident: it happened that one day *.tô·mo-* harpooned a large fish, called *kô·ro-ngid·i-chàu-*, which had a projecting snout wherewith it lashed the shore in its frantic efforts to escape; so violent were the blows that the land was broken each time they fell, a result which proved of great benefit and service to the redoubtable harpooner and his descendants.

14. *.tô·mo-* lived to a great age, but even before his death his offspring became so numerous that their home could no longer accommodate them. At *Pū·luga-*'s bidding they were furnished with all necessary weapons, implements, and fire, and then

[1] Another version states that *.tô·mo-* caused the jungle to spring up beyond *.wòtàem·i-* by stringing flies on a number of arrows, and shooting them off, whereupon they turned into trees, and soon spread over the country.

[2] In those days *Pū·luga-* lived at Saddle Peak (*vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 2), and being so near, used often to pay them a visit.

[3] *Vide post* paragraph 27, and Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 18.

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scattered in pairs all over the country. When this exodus occurred *Pū·luga-* provided each party with a distinct dialect.[1]

15. After the dispersion of the surplus members of his family, *.tô·mo-*, one day while hunting, fell into a creek called *.yàr·a-tig-jīg-*, and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a cachalot (*.kâ·ra-dū·ku-*), and from him have sprung all the cetaceans of this class.[2] *chān·a .ē·lewadi-*, ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband, went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to ascertain the cause of his continued absence; on seeing them, *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-* upset their skiff, and drowned his wife and most of her companions. She became a small crab, of a description still named after her, *e·lewadi-*, and the others were transformed into iguanas.[3]

16. Consequent on the disappearance of *.tô·mo-* and his wife, the duties of headship over the community at *.wòtàem·i-* devolved upon one of their grandchildren, named *.kô·lwô·t-*, who was distinguished by being the first to spear and catch turtles. The *.tô·mola* remained on the islands long after *.tô·mo-*'s transformation, but after *.kô·lwô·t-*'s death, according to one legend, they grew disobedient, and as *Pū·luga-* ceased to visit them, became more and more remiss in their observance of the commands given at the Creation. At last *Pū·luga-*'s anger burst forth, and, without any warning, he sent a great flood which covered the whole land,[4] and destroyed all living. Four persons (two men, *.lô·ralola* and *.pō·lola*, and two women, *.kâ·lola* and *.rī·malola*), who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *.wòtàem·i-*, where they landed and discovered that every living thing on earth had perished; but *Pū·luga-* re-created the animals, birds, &c. In spite of this, however, they suffered severely, in consequence of all their fires having been extinguished, and they could devise

[1] It would almost seem that, without straining the legend to suit facts, we might discern in this a faint echo of the Biblical account of the confusion of tongues and dispersion at Babel.

[2] They consider that the whale is evil disposed towards them, and attribute their occasional non-success in catching turtles to his influence. *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-* is also accused of inciting sharks and other large fish to attack them.

[3] Another version of this story is, that wearied with an unsuccessful day's hunting, *Tô·mo-* went to the shore where he found a *chī·di-* (*Pinna*) shell-fish; while playing with it, it fastened on him, and he was unable to free himself until a *bai·an-* (*Paradoxurus*) seized the *chī·di-* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after he saw his wife and some of their children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune which had befallen him, he upset the canoe, drowning its occupants and himself. He then became *.kâ·ra-dū·ku-*, and the others *.dū·ku-*, which are now very plentiful in the jungles.

[4] Some modify this statement by saying that Saddle Peak, where *Pū·luga-* then dwelt, was not submerged.

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no means of repairing their loss. At this juncture one of their recently deceased friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *.lū·ratūt-*.[1] Seeing their distress he flew up to *mô·ro-*, the sky, where he discovered *Pū·luga-* seated beside his fire; he thereupon seized[2] and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the heat or weight, or both, rendered the task impossible, and the blazing brand fell on *Pū·luga-*, who, incensed with pain, hurled it at the intruder; happily for those concerned, the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the four survivors were deploring their condition. As *.lū·ratūt-* alighted in their midst at the same moment, he gained the full credit of having removed the chief cause of their distress.[3]

17. Being relieved from anxiety as to their means of subsistence, *.lô·rola* and his companions began to entertain sentiments of anger and resentment against *Pū·luga-* for his wholesale destruction of their friends, and, accordingly, when they met him one day at *.tô·lo-kòt·imi-*, they determined to kill him, but were deterred from their purpose by *Pū·luga-* himself, for he assured them that, whereas he was as hard as wood and could not be injured by their arrows, any attempt they might venture to make on his life would cause him to destroy them all. Having reduced them to submission by these assurances, *Pū·luga-* explained that they had brought the Deluge upon themselves through their wilful disobedience of the strict injunctions he had laid down, and which had always been observed by their forefathers, and he intimated that a repetition of their transgressions would inevitably lead to their utter destruction.

18. This is said to be the last occasion on which *Pū·luga-* rendered himself visible, or held any communication with them, but the warning he then gave them has not been forgotten, and the islanders are to this day strict in their observance of his commands.

19. Another legend regarding the origin of the Deluge states that one day, at the commencement of the rainy season, a *.tô·mola* named *.bē·rebi-* came to visit *.kô·lwô·t-*'s mother, *chān·a .ē·rep-*, with the express intention of seeing her son, of whom he

[1] A small variety of kingfisher.

[2] The myth of Prometheus will recur to the reader.

[3] Since that day till the present time, they say they have never been without fire, thanks to the precautions they employ to guard against its extinction. I would add that when first making my investigations on this subject some six years ago, I was led to believe that this kingfisher is regarded by the present inhabitants with a certain amount of veneration (*vide* "The Lord's Prayer in the South Andaman dialect," p. 49), but I have since been assured that such is not the case.

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173 was extremely jealous. When he appeared, *.bē·rebi-* treacherously bit him in the arm, but his teeth became fixed in the flesh and he was therefore unable to detach himself from his victim, whose friends promptly avenged his murder, and disposed of the corpses by throwing them into the sea.[1] The bereaved mother, in her rage, grief, and despair, committed various acts, against which *.tó·mo-* had been warned by *Pū·luga-*, and while so doing incited others to follow her example by the following words:—

ē,ē,ē, dī·a râ-gū·mul lab dâ·la,
ē,ē,ē, ngū·l kâ·ja pīj pū·gatken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl chō·akan tō·aiken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl boâ·rato â·kà-kolâ·ken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl gō·no bō·angken,
ē,ē,ē, ngūl tōng choâ·ra bō·angken,
ē,ē,ē, ngig â·rlōt pū·laijoken.

The translation of which is:—

"*ē, ē, ē,*[2] (sobbing)—My grown-up handsome son,
Burn the wax,[3]
Grind the seed of the *châ·kan-*,[4]
Destroy the *bâ·rata-*,[5]
Dig up the *gō·no-*,[6]
Dig up the *châ-ti-*,[6]
Destroy everything."

Thereupon *Pū·luga-* was exceeding wroth, and sent the flood which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

20. This tradition is preserved in the following lines:—

Kē·ledōat ībâ·ji lâr chô·ra,
Râ-gū·mul abgó·rka en igboâ·di,
Râ-gū·mul lē liga kō·arnga,
Râ-gū·mul abgó·rka.
Toâ·lo â·rbo eb dâ·kan choar·po.

The meaning of which is:—

"Bring the boat to the beach
I will see your fine grown-up son,

[1] *.kó·lwó·t-*, after death, was transformed into a species of tree lizard, which is still named after him, and *.bē·rebi-* became a fish called *kō·ngo-*, which is armed with a row of poisonous barbs on its back.

[2] Exclamation indicative of grief.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[4] The *Entada pursaetha*.

[5] The *Caryota sobolifera*.

[6] Two varieties of edible roots much relished by them after the rains.

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The grown-up son who threw the youths (into the sea),[1] 773●
The fine grown-up son,
My adze is rusty, I will stain my lips with his blood."

21. In this, as in all their songs and chants, a good deal is left to the imagination, but from the explanations which have been given by the aborigines, the following appears to afford some light on the subject:—*.bē·rebi*, being jealous of the renown *.kô·lwô·t-* had won for himself by his numerous accomplishments and great strength, took advantage of meeting him and his mother one day on the water to ask them to let him enter their boat. On their complying with his request, he provided himself with a rusty adze and a hone, and joined them; approaching near to *.kô·lwô·t-*, he put down the adze and hone, remarking on the rusty condition of the former; then taking *.kô·lwô·t-* by the arm he sniffed it from the wrist to the shoulder, as if admiring the development of the muscles; while doing so he muttered the threat of staining his lips with blood, which he shortly after fulfilled in the manner already described.

22. *lach·i*[2] *.lô·ralola*, the chief of the survivors from the Deluge, gave, at his death, the name of *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-*[3] to their descendants. When, for the second time in their history, their numbers had increased to so great an extent that it became impossible for them to remain together in one spot, an exodus, similar to the first, took place; each party, being furnished with fire and every other essential, started in a different direction, and on settling down adopted a new and distinct dialect. They each received a tribal name, and from them have sprung the various tribes still existing on the islands.

23. The *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-* are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long-lived,[4] but, in other respects and in their mode of living they did not differ from the present inhabitants. The name seems to have been borne till comparatively recent times, as a few still living are said to remember having seen the last of the so-called *.chàw·ga-tâ·banga-*.

24. After the Flood the *Pandanus* was found to have deteriorated so greatly as to be unfit for its former uses; their canoes were consequently thenceforth made by scooping the trunks of the *Sterculia villosa*, and other trees of a similar description.[5]

25. The story regarding certain *.tô·mola*, who failed to

[1] Literally, *caused them to flee into the sea* (*vide post* paragraph 29).
[2] Signifying "the late," or "deceased."
[3] *i.e.*, the big-bodied.
[4] The Andamanese attribute the present increasep rate of mortality to the jungle clearances we have made.
[5] The native names of which are *bá·ja-*; *maū·-*; *yē·re-*; and *kó·kan-*.

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• 773 observe the rules laid down for neophytes, states that, on the day after they broke their fast of *reg-jī·ri-*[1] (kidney fat of pig), they left the encampment without giving notice of their intention to their friends, and the result was that, when they were missed and searched for, it was found they had gone to the shore to fish, and had there met a sad fate; the body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder, and turned into stone, while the other, likewise in a state of petrifaction, was standing erect beside it.

26. *mai·a .dū·ku-*, who appears to be identical with *.tô·mo-*,[2] is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *.dū·ku-* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang this ditty:—

> *"Tōng mâ līr pī·renga? tōng yī·tiken! tōng yī·tiken!*
> *tōng mâ līr pī·renga? tōng yī·tiken!"*

the interpretation of which is, "What can now strike me? I am tattooed! I am tattooed!" &c. (*Da capo*).

27. It would seem that after the Deluge they had to feel their way again to the necessary arts and manufactures in which *Pū·luga-* had vouchsafed to instruct their first parents:[3] especially is this declared to be the case with the pigments used in painting their bodies, one of which, viz.: *tâ·la-ōg-*,[4] is said to have been accidentally re-discovered by a *.tô·mola* female, named *chān·a .châ·riâ-*, while she was engaged in searching for the much relished edible root known as *gō·no-*; another woman, *chān·a .tē·liu*, is credited with finding, about the same time, *kòi·ob-chū·luga-*.[5] Like true daughters of Eve they were not long at a loss in turning their knowledge to some (?) profitable account.

28. Another of their antediluvian ancestors was famous for propagating yams. This was *mai·a .bū·mroâg-*, who, in shooting an arrow, struck the creeper belonging to the favourite variety called *gō·no-*; his curiosity being excited he dug up the root, and tasted it: the result being satisfactory, he informed his friends of his discovery, and they all feasted upon it; when they had had sufficient, he scattered the remains in different directions; this

[1] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraph 5.

[2] *.dū·ku* is also credited with having, like Pygmalion, created a woman! The Andamanese Galatea (*chān·a .tōt-kal·at-châ·pa-* or *chān·a .bai·an-*) was made out of *châ·pa-* (firewood), and in due course became her creator's wife. The legend does not explain how she was endued with life, but relates that at death she became a Paradoxurus.

[3] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 9.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 58.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 63.

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apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretence of shaving him, she split his head open with a piece of quartz. After his death it was found that the act for which he suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful.

29. To explain the origin of certain fish, they say that one day before the Deluge, *maiˑa .kôˑlwôˑt-* went to visit an encampment of the *.tôˑmola* situated in the Archipelago. While engaged in his song,[1] the women, through inattention to his instructions, marred the effect of the chorus, so, to punish them, he seized his bow, whereupon the whole party in terror fled in all directions; some escaping into the sea were changed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and various other fish which till then had not been seen.[2]

30. Only two geological legends have hitherto been discovered: the one refers to a large block of sandstone lying at *.wòtàemˑiˑ-*, and the other relates to two boulders of elephantine proportions, situated within a mile of the same place, which convey the idea that they once formed part of a narrow neck of land which jutted out into the sea, but which has been gradually demolished by storms and by the action of the waves. The belief current regarding the first is that the deep incisions visible on its surface are hieroglyphics inscribed by *.tôˑmo-*, the first man, giving a history of the Creation, which event, as already mentioned, is believed by all the tribes of our acquaintance to have occurred at this very spot *.wòtàemˑiˑ-*. The art of deciphering the supposed record has, it is said, been lost for many ages, and no attempt is made to assign a specific meaning to any of the marks which form the mythical inscription. Many of the legends regarding their ancestors picture the scene of their exploits at *.wòtàemˑiˑ-*; hence the special interest of the spot to all the tribes of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago. In regard to the two boulders, tradition declares that one day, in the years before the Deluge, *maiˑa .dūˑku-* and some of his friends, seeing two animals swimming near the shore, shouted to them, whereupon they came out of the water and showed themselves to be two enormous creatures such as had never before been seen or dreamt of by

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[2] The following is a list of *.tôˑmola* who were transformed into animals, birds, or fish:—

.kâˑra-dūˑku- (whale),
.dūˑku- (iguana),
.ēˑlewadi- (small species of crab),
.tɛgbūˑlˑ- (dugong),
.kôˑlwôˑtˑ- / *.âˑga-* (tree lizards),
.baiˑan- (paradoxurus),
.ɪˑd- (rat),
.lūˑratūt- (a variety of kingfisher),
.mūˑrud- (pigeon),
.ēˑep- (parrot),
.tēˑliu- (jungle fowl),
.bâˑtka- (crow),
.chôˑkab- (heron),
.badˑgi- (fish eagle),
.chōˑag- (porpoise),
and various other fish.

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773 the *.tô·molà*, who were so terrified that they fled precipitately; *.dū·ku-* with difficulty escaped, but a few of his companions were less fortunate, being captured and devoured by these monsters, who are known by the name of *ū·chu-*. Consternation filled the minds of the scanty population then inhabiting the "world," when their deliverance was unexpectedly and speedily effected by the *ū·chu-*, who, in attempting to ford the shallow water near *.wòtàem·i-*, stuck fast in the deep mud, and, being unable to extricate themselves, met a lingering death.[1]

31. The manner in which the world was illuminated at the beginning is not clearly to be ascertained from their legends, for one story states that the sun and moon were subsequently created at *.tô·mò-*'s request, as he found that, under the then existing circumstances, it was impossible to catch fish by night or to hunt by day; while, in direct disagreement with this, another story tells us that night was a punishment brought upon mankind by certain individuals who angered *Pū·luga-* by killing a caterpillar. The tale informs us that the sun, one day, burned so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women named *chān·a .lī·mi-* and *chān·a .jārа-ngūd-*, became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy frame of mind they discovered a caterpillar (*gū·ug-*), and a certain plant called *ū·tura-*. By way of venting their spleen, one crushed the hapless grub, and the other destroyed the plant. These wanton acts so displeased *Pū·luga-* that he determined to punish them, and to teach them to appreciate the privilege of daylight, which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. He accordingly visited the earth with a long-continued darkness, which caused every one much inconvenience and distress. At last their chief, *mai·a kô·lwô·t-*, to whom reference has already been made, hit upon a happy expedient of inducing *Pū·luga-* to restore the former state of things by trying to assure him that they were quite unconcerned, and could enjoy themselves in spite of light being withheld from them. To accomplish this, he invented the custom of dancing and singing, the result of which was that *Pū·luga-*, finding that they had frustrated his intention, granted, as a first concession, alternate periods of day and night, and subsequently, moved by the difficulties often occasioned by the latter, created the moon to mitigate their troubles. It is in this way that they account for the fact of the same word being used to denote a *caterpillar* and *night*.

32. With regard to the *al·aba-*, which tree they value greatly, in consequence of the fibre produced from its bark being

[1] The name *ū·chu-* has accordingly been given to the two boulders. On first seeing the elephants which have been introduced by Government at Port Blair, the aborigines at once called them *ū·chu-*, in allusion to this legend, and it is the name ever since adopted by them in speaking of these animals.

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used in the manufacture of their turtle-harpoon lines, nets, &c., it is said that *Pū·luga-* commanded *.tō·mo-* never to make use of it as fuel when cooking a turtle, though he might burn it when pigs or other animals were being prepared for food; a warning was also given him that a severe punishment would follow disobedience in this particular, for the males found transgressing would have their throats cut, while the females would be deprived of their breasts; if the offence were committed by day, the carrying out of the sentence rested with *chān·a .bō·do-*, or, if by night, with *mai·a .ō·gar-*. On one occasion, at night, shortly before the Deluge (when the *.tō·mola* appear to have been a very depraved set), they were guilty, among other enormities, of disregarding this injunction, whereupon *mai·a .ō·gar-* descended and inflicted the threatened penalty. 773 •

33. The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as *.chôl-* is as follows:—Their ancestor, *mai·a .chôl-*, one day stole a pig which had just been captured by *mai·a .kôl·wô·t-*, and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now *mai·a .kô·lwô·t-* was remarkable for his great strength, and being enraged, determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a number of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge, and then proceeded to force it into the ground. On finding that, if he remained where he was, he must inevitably be buried alive, *mai·a .chô·l-* sprang off the tree, and thereby met a more terrible fate, for he was impaled on the spikes, and perished miserably. His disembodied spirit did not pass to *.chā·itā·n-* (Hades), but took up its abode on the invisible bridge, where, by *Pū·luga-*'s orders, numbers of his descendants were afterwards sent to join him, in the form of black birds with long tails.

34. Another curious fable is told to account for a drought from which their early ancestors suffered: it relates that once upon a time, in the dry season, a woodpecker discovered a black honeycomb in the hollow of a tree; while regaling himself on this dainty he observed a toad eyeing him wistfully from below, so he invited him to join the feast; the toad gladly accepted, whereupon the woodpecker lowered a creeper, giving instructions to his guest to fasten his bucket (*dā·kar-*[1]) thereto, and then to seat himself in it, so that he might be drawn up. The toad complied with the directions, and the woodpecker proceeded to haul him up; but just when he had brought him near the comb he mischievously let go the creeper, and his confiding and expectant guest experienced an unpleasant fall. The trick so exasperated him

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 13.

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773 that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them, the result of which was that great distress was occasioned to all the birds, as well as to the rest of the animate creation. The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction, and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him, and the drought soon terminated.

These are among the best known and most important of their legends, but the list is by no means exhausted, others having been narrated to me which space forbids me to include at the present time, as many subjects of more importance yet remain to be considered in connection with the occupations, &c., of their daily life.

poreal resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct and in the utterances of "wise men," dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune, who practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit by means of good things tabued to themselves as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants and ordeals, nor any forms of appeal to supernatural powers. 771

Puluga, who is fundamentally with some definiteness identifiable with the storm (*W'uluga*) mixed up with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by "God." He has a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters, who are his messengers, the Morowin. He has no authority over the evil spirits and contents himself with pointing out offenders against himself to them. The two great evil, *i.e.*, harmful, spirits are Erem-chauga of the Forest and Juruwin of the Sea. Like Puluga both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila and a numerous class, the Chol, who are practically spirits of disease. The Sun is the wife of the Moon and the Stars are their children dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though they twang their bows and "chaff" the moon during an eclipse, and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of the soul arises out of his reflection in water and not out of his shadow which follows him about. His reflection is his spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world, Chaitan, under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one, and in their recognising of all Natives of India and the Far East as *chauga*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

Superstitions.—The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus, fire frightens Erem-chauga, so it is *always* carried. They avoid offending the Sun and the Moon by silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning beeswax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities, *e.g.*, convicts murdered by Jarawas have been found with heavy stones placed on them and stones have been found placed along their pathways. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the men had been murdered and that the murderers had passed along the path in front.

Mythology.—The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor, to whom and his wife he brought fire and taught all the arts and for whom he created everything. This line of belief is still alive and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano, Barren Island, on seeing the smoke from the top they at once christened it Molatarchona, Smoke Island, and said the fire was Puluga's. 773

The next most important element in the mythology is in the story of the cataclysm, which engulfed the islands and was of course caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Luratut, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the *chauga* or ghostly ancestors.

Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs, *e.g.*, tattooing and dancing, of the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metempsychosis and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, stone and other objects in nature. Indeed the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

Initiatory Ceremonies.—There are rudimentary initiatory customs for both males and females, connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability 881

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rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various expedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation. The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit, clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no concept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

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their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cué-cian-ghéghechée-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.